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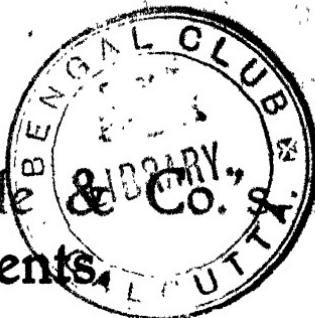
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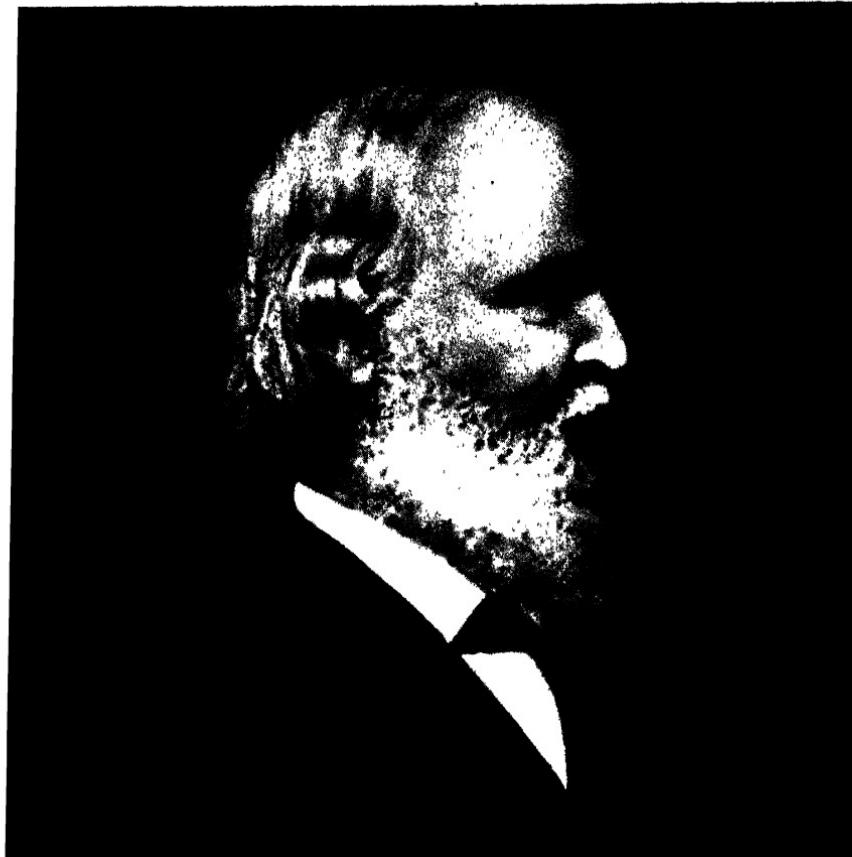
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Discobolus - Vatican Museum, Rome

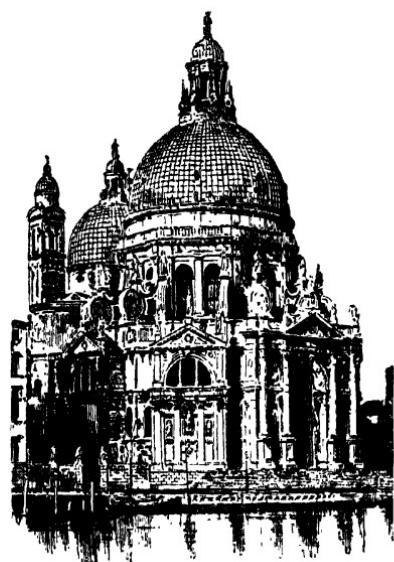
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Slender Loris (*Loris gracilis*).

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Italian Architecture - Church of St. Maria della Salute, Venice, constructed 1632

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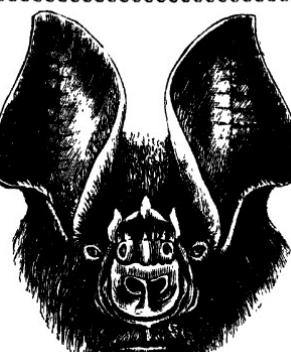
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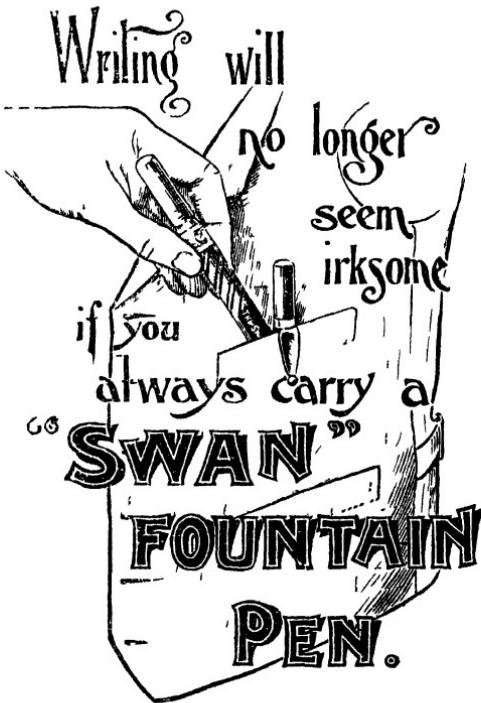
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COULD the shades of Nero's two centurions be permitted to revisit the scenes of their earthly wanderings, they would find that, although some eighteen and a half centuries have elapsed since they explored the White Nile and its swamps, their description of this area is as true at the present moment as it was at the time of their adventurous journey. ‘Immense marshes, the exit from which was unknown to the inhabitants, nor could any one hope to discover it, so entangled were the waters by the reeds, and the waters themselves so full of slime, and so barred by plants, that it was impossible to struggle through them either on foot or in a boat, unless it were a very small one, containing only one person.’* This account is still so

* The passage is worth quoting *in extenso*: ‘Ego quidem centuriones duos, quos Nero Cæsar ut aliarum viitum, ita veritatis in primis amantissimus, ad investigandum caput Nili miserat, audivi narrantes, longum illos iter peregrisse, quum a rege Æthiopie instructi auxilio, commendatique proximis regibus, penetrassent ad ulteriora.

entirely appropriate to these regions that it might well have been written to-day by anyone wishing to picture its hopeless desolation in a few vivid words. Since Roman times the White Nile has been explored by many travellers, most of whom have exhausted their vocabulary in the endeavour to find language sufficiently strong to depict the dreary melancholy of these lonely marshes.

Notwithstanding its pestilential swamps, this much-abused stream exercises an important influence upon the prosperity of the Nile Valley. Throughout the early summer months, when the sun's rays are nearly vertical, when the intense heat shrivels up and burns every green thing, when the land is parched and dry, when the Blue Nile and the Atbara have both shrunk to insignificant limits, the White Nile steadily continues to deliver its precious waters through many hundred miles of rock, marsh, and sand, enabling Egypt to accumulate wealth by converting provinces, which would otherwise be desert, into the richest agricultural areas in the world.

While it is admitted that the rich muddy floods which annually pour down from the Abyssinian highlands contain in their waters the organic matters which render the land productive, it must be remembered that the rivers which convey these floods run dry periodically, and precisely at the season when the most valuable crops, such as sugar-cane and cotton, require irrigation: further, that without the steady added volume of the White Nile, the floods of the Blue Nile and the Atbara could not attain to the height required for the annual inundation, and could not spread their waters over Southern Egypt. If, then, it is to the Abyssinian torrents that the Nile owes its fertilising properties, it is to the Equatorial tributaries that it owes its regularity of rise and fall and its constancy of supply. The waters of these two systems unite to form the most wonderful river in existence*—one which, passing through nearly

Equidem, aiebant, pervenimus ad immensas paludes, quarum exitum nec incolae noverant, nec sperare quisquam potest, ita implicata aquis herbae sunt, et aquae nec pedite eluttabiles, nec navigio, quod nisi parvum et unius capax, limosa et obsita palus non ferat. Ibi, inquit, vidimus duas petras, ex quibus ingens vis fluminis excidebat.'—Seneo, 'Quæstiones Naturales,' lib. vi. 8.

* Abu-Salih, the Armenian, thus describes it: 'In the land of the Soudan there is a river called the White River, which, when it overflows for a certain length of time, runs into a river called the Black River, which flows into the Nile from the east; and when the White

seventeen hundred miles of desert without a single affluent, yet never fails in its discharge, even at the hottest period of the year—one which causes the land watered by it to be proverbial for its prosperity, and one whose valley has been the cradle of the civilisation of the world.

The reconquest of the provinces bordering the Blue and White Niles being an event of very recent date, some account of their early history and of their present state may prove of interest.

Many centuries prior to the Christian era the kingdom of Ethiopia had attained to very considerable importance; so much so, that its sovereigns, on several occasions, tried conclusions, not unsuccessfully, with the rulers of Egypt. From whence the race originally sprang is unknown. It is supposed by some to have been allied to the Caucasian stock. Ethiopia must undoubtedly have been a stable Power for some considerable time before she attempted to invade the territory of her powerful neighbour. This she did under Pianchi (B.C. 775), who conquered and held the Thebaid.* Sabacon, his successor, reduced the whole country to subjection during the reign of the blind king Anysis, and founded the Twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian Dynasty, lasting for some forty-four years (B.C. 707 to 663). After the expulsion of the Ethiopians, Sethon, a priest of Hephaestus, made himself sole master of Egypt, and was succeeded by the Dodecarchia, or Government of twelve chiefs. To these again succeeded Psammetichus (B.C. 671), who conquered Egypt by the aid of Ionian and Carian pirates. The employment of foreign mercenaries gave great offence to the military caste in Egypt, and some 240,000 of her soldiers revolted and emigrated in a body to Ethiopia, where the king assigned to them settlements of land.† It is possible that

River, which runs into the Nile, rises, then the health of the people of Egypt improves; but when it falls, and the Black River flows (into the Nile), then the people of Egypt fall sick.'—'The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,' p. 276, by T. A. Evetts, M.A., and A. J. Butler, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford: 1895.

* Egypt was at this time broken up into a number of small principalities, of which Sais held the overlordship. The Ethiopians under Pianchi made an expedition against Tefnekht, the ruler of Sais, and defeated him.

† Herodotus calls these mutineers the 'Automoli,' and states that they were disgusted at having to maintain guards at Daphne, Elephantine, and Marea, for three years without being relieved. He says: 'By the settlement of these men the Ethiopians became civilised and learned, after the manner of the Egyptians.'

these men may have assisted in spreading the civilisation of Egypt in the land of their adoption, but a gang of mutinous soldiers could hardly have succeeded in originating it; further, all records go to show that a high state of civilisation had existed in Ethiopia long prior to the reign of Psammetichus. Undoubtedly her priesthood was closely connected in origin and custom with that of Egypt, and it is probable that when Northern Nubia was conquered by the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty the influence of the Egyptians spread and took root in the countries to the south. There is no evidence that Meroe, the later capital of Ethiopia, was ever subject to Egypt, but the older capital, Napata,* was apparently subdued, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, by Amenhotep II.,† son of Thotmes III. During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties much of Northern Ethiopia was subject to Egypt, but it is very doubtful if the latter country ever extended her sway far south of the Fourth Cataract. The Ethiopian kings, in later periods, boasted of their descent from the Ramassids (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties), and attached great importance to the worship of Ammon of Thebes. The northern country recovered its independence at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (about 950 B.C.). It has been suggested that the Ethiopian kingdom may have been founded by the family of Heri Hor, high priest of Thebes, who seized on the sovereignty of Egypt at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, at the time of the break-up of the empire.‡ However this may be, there is no doubt that Ethiopia was a civilised State, with a powerful monarchy, before the advent of the mutinous Automoli.§

As has been already mentioned, the later capital of the Ethiopian kingdom was Meroc, which city was situated in

* Opposite Merawi, in the Dongola Province. Napata is on the east bank of the river.

† On a stela, in the Temple of Amadah, he states that he took a captive chief up to Napata and hung him on the walls of the town. The Eighteenth Dynasty was about 1430 B.C.

‡ The name 'Pianchi' appears among those of the family of Heri Hor.

§ It has been supposed that these soldiers, passing through Meroe, went on to Sennar and settled there. This supposition is probably based upon Herodotus's assertion that the country of the Automoli lay as many days south of Meroe as the latter city did of Elephantine. Herodotus's description of these countries is, however, founded solely upon hearsay.

the far-famed island * of that name. The position of this city and the limits of the district in question have been much discussed, but, thanks to the early historians, it is possible to define both with fair accuracy.

Strabo relates that near Meroe the Astapus † and the Astaboras ‡ meet. § According to Pliny, the Roman envoys despatched by Nero to the Court of Ethiopia found the distance between Syene (Assuan) and the northern end of the island of Meroe to be 873 miles. || This figure agrees very closely with the actual distance by river between Assuan and the Atbara. The same envoys gave the distance between the cities of Napata and Meroe as 360 miles. ¶ This corresponds very exactly to the position of the ruins of Assur, which are now generally acknowledged to be those of Meroe itself. Diodorus Siculus states that the length of the island of Meroe was 3,000 stadia. ** Taking a stadium at 607 English feet, this would give the length of the so-called island, from its northern point at the Atbara junction with the Nile, as 341 miles. We know that the Rahad River formed the southern boundary of the island, and the distance between these two rivers, according to the latest figures of the Egyptian Intelligence Department, is 351 miles. The error is, then, only one of ten miles, and its insignificance shows how thoroughly the Romans carried out their work.

The island of Meroe was a triangular area, bounded on the north and east by the Atbara, on the west and southwest by the Nile and Blue Nile, and on the south by the Rahad River. This last approaches the Atbara very closely at its point of issue from the Abyssinian mountains, and thus forms the apex of a triangle, of which the Nile is the base. The area of this tract is some 22,000 square miles. The district, in addition to its capital, Meroe, †† must have

* The ancients called every tract of land an island, or 'ghezireh,' which was surrounded by rivers.

† The Nile, *i.e.* the Blue Nile and its continuation as the main Nile, north of Khartoum.

‡ The Atbara River.

§ Lib. xvi.

|| Historia Naturalis, lib. v. 9, and lib. vi. 29.

¶ Ibid.

** Bibliotheca Historica, lib. xvii.

†† Pliny, lib. vi. 29, states that there were 250,000 soldiers and 400,000 artisans at Meroe, and that forty-five kings reigned there. Herodotus, lib. ii., says that the inhabitants worshipped no other gods but Jupiter and Bacchus, and that they honoured these with great

formerly contained many important cities. The ruins of Soba, Messaurat, Naga, and others, are all of considerable size, and the remains of their temples, pyramids, &c., would point to a state of prosperity and civilisation almost rivalling that of Egypt itself. Nero's envoys, visiting this country in the first century after Christ, have testified to its fertility and verdure, its park-like appearance, and its abundance of game. Even in the present century portions of this region have maintained their ancient reputation, the districts of Gedaref and Gallabat being renowned, previous to the Mahdist rebellion, for their rich soil and for the magnificent crops which they produced.

According to Josephus, the ancient name of Meroe was Saba, Cambyses having changed it to perpetuate the memory of his queen.* The same authority states that the Queen of Sheba reigned at this place.†

Throughout Egyptian history the whole Nile Valley south of Assuan was known as the Land of Cush, the title being derived from the son of Ham, who first colonised this region. It is probable that the name of Saba is a corruption of Seba, who, again, was the son of Cush himself.‡

Two capitals of Ethiopia, Napata and Meroe, have been mentioned in this article. Very little is known as to the relations existing between these two cities. The former must have possessed some importance as early as the fifteenth century B.C., having been conquered by the Egyptians at that period. The two names occur in the inscriptions as if they had almost the same meaning. Thus, 'Lord of Napata, beloved of Meroe,' are the titles of a god. The name of Napata is met with in the older inscriptions, and the monuments found there are of a period anterior to any yet discovered at Meroe. From this it is fair to assume that Meroe was the later capital; but it would seem that during the last century before, and the first century after, Christ, both capitals were existing. It is further known that, at times,

magnificence. There was also an oracle of Jupiter (or Ammon) at this place.

* 'Nam Saba urbs eadem fuisse perhibetur quæ a Cambyse "Meroe" in uxoris honorem dicta est.'—Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. 5.

† He calls her Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia.—Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. 6. Abu-Salih, the Armenian, mentions the legend that after leaving King Solomon's Court this queen gave birth to a son, who was named Menelek, and eventually became King of Ethiopia and Abyssinia.

‡ Genesis x. 6 and 7.

queens reigned at Napata, and it is supposed that the government of that city was, for a certain period, vested in the female line.*

The Roman emperors would never seem to have attempted to extend their conquests south of Napata, contenting themselves with despatching envoys to the Court of Ethiopia; † in this following the example of Cambyses, some six centuries earlier. In the third century after Christ, the Romans withdrew their legions altogether, and about a century and a half later the Christian religion became prevalent in Ethiopia. How, or by whom, it was introduced there is no direct evidence to show. It is most probable that it was by the means of missions from Egypt, small at first, but growing larger as the years went by. ‡ The persecutions of Diocletian may have driven many Christians to seek refuge in the south, but it appears to be certain that Christianity was not generally introduced among the Ethiopians before the reign of Justinian I., A.D. 527-565. § From this period to the fourteenth century the Christian faith was accepted throughout Ethiopia, and also in Abyssinia. There would appear to have been three distinct Christian kingdoms existing at this period—Nubia, with a king whose capital was at Old Dongola; Alwah, with its capital at Soba on the Blue Nile, or at Sonieh (the present Khartoum); and Abyssinia.|| Of the last kingdom not much is known, but the two former must have attained to a high state of prosperity and power during the

* We know that Queen Candace was defeated at Napata by Petronius, B.C. 22. Again, we have Biblical authority to prove that there was a Queen Candace ruling in Ethiopia A.D. 34. *Vide* Acts viii. 27-38. From this it has been imagined that the name of Candace was common to all the Ethiopian queens. As regards Merce, when Nero sent his envoys there in the latter half of the first century after Christ it was a king, and not a queen, who ruled at that place. This gives colour to the supposition that the two capitals were separate and independent.

† Most probably the two centurions mentioned by Seneca as having visited the White Nile formed part of Nero's mission to Meroe.

‡ It is just possible that the treasurer of Queen Candace, to whom Philip explained the Gospel, may have been the first to introduce the new faith into his country.—Acts viii. 27-38.

§ The Empress Theodora sent missions both to Ethiopia and Abyssinia to spread the Monophysite faith there.—Gibbon, 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' chap. xlviij.

|| They all owed allegiance to the Patriarch of Egypt as their religious head. He consecrated all their bishops.

Christian period. Abdallah Ahmad, a merchant of Assuan, who visited Ethiopia A.D. 970, and who wrote a history of the country,* gives a vivid account of its prosperity and wealth. He describes the churches, monasteries, palm-groves, vineyards, gardens, and fields, also the immense herds of cattle and camels. He compares its state of peace most favourably with that of Egypt, and waxes eloquent over the splendour of Sonieh (Khartoum), which he describes as 'a town adorned with magnificent buildings, great houses, churches enriched with gold, and gardens.'

Abu-Salih the Armenian, before quoted, writing in the beginning of the thirteenth century, gives an account of the prosperity of Alwah.† He talks of the troops and of the four hundred churches, more particularly that of Manbali. The patron saint was Saint Mark the Evangelist, and the inhabitants were all Jacobite Christians.‡

For many centuries the kingdom of Nubia was the scene of ceaseless warfare with the Moslem rulers of Egypt. Invasions and counter-invasions occurred at frequent intervals, until in the beginning of the fifteenth century all Nubia fell under the dominion of Islam. The kingdom of Alwah, owing to its remote situation, was fortunate enough for a time to escape the troubles to which its sister monarchy was subjected. For it also, however, the end was at hand, for a force had been slowly maturing, destined eventually to sweep away the dynasty, and to replace it by one entirely different.

About the seventh or eighth century after Christ, an Arab tribe calling itself the 'Beni Umaiya' emigrated from Arabia, crossed the intervening deserts, and eventually settled itself upon the Blue Nile. For many centuries these invaders occupied themselves with the subjection of the Negro possessors of the soil and in consolidating their power. They gradually spread over the country lying round about Sennar and south of the Dinder River, intermarrying with the Negroid tribes, and converting them to Mohammedanism. The mixture of the two races continued, with the result that in course of time the name of Beni Umaiya disappeared and the old tribal names of Fung and Hamegh alone remained.§ The fusion of blood produced a fierce

* 'History of Nubia,' by Abdallah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Solaim.

† 'Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,' p. 263, by T. A. Evetts, M.A., and A. J. Butler, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford : 1895.

‡ *I.e.* Monophysites.

§ Egypt, No. 2, 1883.

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race, possessing the energy and restless vigour of the Arab with the physique of the Negro. In the year 890 of the Hegira, or 1484 A.D.,* one Amara Dunkas, a sheikh of the Fung, overcame all rivals, and proclaimed himself king of the Fung tribes. From this beginning sprang the renowned sultanate of Sennar, which lasted for 336 years, and numbered among its rulers twenty-nine princes of Fung or Hamegh blood. With the advent of this dynasty Christianity disappeared in Alwah, and the whole of Ethiopia became subject to Mohammedan rule. It is probable that many of the Ethiopian Christians emigrated to Abyssinia, and that their influence consolidated the faith which to this day remains the religion of that country.

The empire of Sennar gradually expanded its limits, until it embraced the whole area between the mountains of Fazokl and Khartoum. The districts lying to the north, although nominally under independent sovereigns, paid tribute to the Sultan of Sennar, who extended his power even over the wild Shilluk and Dinka of the White Nile. His capital was at Sennar itself, and as early as the sixteenth century this city had attained renown as a seat of wealth and learning. In the eighteenth century it reached its zenith, the Fung repelling an invasion of the Abyssinians and defeating all rivals. Sennar then became the resort of learned and celebrated men from all parts of the Moslem world, including Arabia, India, and Persia. Very shortly afterwards, owing to a succession of weak and dissolute rulers, the Fung power declined, and that of the rival race of Hamegh simultaneously increased. These last eventually wrested the sovereignty from the Fung, and seated a ruler of their own blood on the throne of Sennar. Internecine wars ensued, and the limits of the empire speedily shrank. Provinces formerly subject, declared their independence, and by the end of the eighteenth century but little remained under the sway of this once powerful monarchy. The entire region was the scene of endless warfare, which the Sennar ruler was powerless to subdue. The advent of the Mameluke fugitives in 1812 did not tend to render the state of the country more pacific, and in 1819 the entire Nile Valley was in a state of such anarchy that Mehemet Ali, the then Viceroy of Egypt, despatched a force to restore order. The destruction of the power of the Shagiyeh Arabs, and the subjection of the kingdom of Sennar, were followed by the treacherous murder of

* Lieut.-Col. Stewart gives this date as 1493.

Emperors State Library

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Mehemet Ali's son, Ismail Pasha, in 1821. With the retributive measures ordered by the Viceroy the ruin of the Soudan commenced.* The inhabitants were deported wholesale, and sold as slaves. Oppression and license ruled the land. Large areas were thrown out of cultivation for lack of cultivators, and each new governor vied with his predecessors in extorting exorbitant taxes from the miserable peasantry. In spite of the efforts of Baker, Gordon, and others, things went from bad to worse, until in 1883 and 1884 the people turned upon their oppressors, and the successful rebellion of the Mahdi swept away the last vestiges of Egyptian rule.

Much has been said and much has been written about the ruin caused by the Dervish rule. It must not be forgotten that when the Baggara succeeded to power the land was already devastated, and that whatever infamies they committed were only the culmination of the series of atrocities perpetrated for a space of sixty years by the Egyptian and the Turk. The Khalifa and his predecessor were savage despots, who, following the example of many Oriental rulers, called in Terror as their Minister, and removed wholesale, and without scruple, all whom they considered to be dangerous or who stood in their way. They plundered the unhappy villagers ruthlessly, seizing their cattle, women, and goods, either exterminating the men or employing them as slaves. Admitting this, it must be maintained that the total amount of ruin which they caused to the land was not one tithe of that occasioned by the officials of a nominally civilised Power, acting under the sanction of their Government. These men reduced a country which they found flourishing and prosperous to a state of desolation almost impossible to imagine. It is a significant fact that to-day, among the Negro tribes, the name of Turk is a byword of hatred and of fear, far more so than is that of either the Dervish or the Abyssinian.

The limits of an article such as the present preclude any but a brief description of the countries watered by the Blue and White Niles. The area comprised between the Atbara, the Nile, the White Nile, the Saubat, and the Abyssinian

* 'The reprisals made by the Daftardar were horrible and the murders numberless. No mercy was shown; even pregnant women were barbarously disembowelled. Thus, by slaughter, the Egyptian boundaries were extended as far as Kordofan.'—From 'Ten Years in Equatoria,' by Major Casati, London: 1898.

frontier is a long, irregularly shaped figure, comprising some nine degrees of latitude and three of longitude, and containing over 100,000 square miles of country. The regions bounded by these several rivers differ to a certain degree, but their general characteristics are immense expanses of flat plain, covered more or less thickly by bush and forest, and occasionally dotted by isolated granite hills. The island of Meroe has already been described. The soil of this tract is upon the whole good, and, were water available, capable of raising good crops. The country between the Dinder and Rahad Rivers, and south of the former as far as Fazokl, is a rich alluvial plain, covered for the most part with dense forests. In the east, towards Gallabat, it is open, and used to be one of the richest areas in the Soudan. The whole eastern bank of the Blue Nile is extremely flat. Between the Blue and the White Rivers lies what is known as the Ghezireh.* This extends from the junction of the two Niles at Khartoum as far south as the 12th parallel of latitude. A line drawn from Rosaires, on the Blue, to Reng, on the White Nile, would fairly accurately mark its southern limits. The width of the Ghezireh varies from 70 to 120 miles, and its length is about 270 miles. Its area is approximately 25,000 square miles, and the greater portion of it is a flat plain, although south of Sennar masses of rock crop up at intervals. The soil throughout is a rich alluvial deposit, except on the western boundary and in the extreme north. In these last it is light and sandy. With the exception of a belt of forest, which borders both rivers, the country is open and devoid of bush. To the south of the Ghezireh lies the region known as 'Dar Fungi,' or Kingdom of the Fung. This extends as far south as Famaka, but is bounded on the west by the large area once occupied by the Dinka. Dar Fungi is very similar in character to the Ghezireh; but the rocky hills are more numerous and higher, and the bush is more general and denser. South of Dar Fungi lie the old provinces of Dar Bertat, or Fazokl, and the Beni Shangul.† The former is a mountainous tract, of which little is known, and the latter is a range of hills, some 150 miles in length, reputed to be rich in gold. Both these districts are claimed by the Abyssinians as coming within their territory, as does the

* It used to be known as the 'Gheziret el-Sennar.'

† Beni Shangul is an Arab corruption of Beni-Shankalla. 'Shankalla' is the Abyssinian for a Negro.

country of the Gallas, which, again, lies further south. On the west, south of Dar Fungi, the vast area once peopled by the Dinka extends along the White Nile as far as the Saubat River. It is now practically uninhabited. It consists of immense grass plains, among which patches of forest are interspersed. Along the Saubat itself the country is rich and alluvial. South of this river the plains and marshes extend for an unknown distance.

In order to understand this country it must be remembered that the rivers which traverse it are its chief features, and that all existing life and industry cluster along their banks. As they differ greatly in their characteristics, a brief account of each will perhaps give a better idea of the Soudan than anything else, and to do this it will be necessary to commence at the junction of the Atbara with the Nile, and work southwards.

The Atbara joins the Nile on its eastern bank, at a point 385 miles (by rail) from Wadi-Halfa. This river drains the western slopes of the Abyssinian ranges, and is joined by several important tributaries, of which the most important is the Settit. It is dry in summer, but in the month of August it brings down an immense volume of water, and is one of the most important factors in the production of the annual Nile floods. Its torrents come down in a series of rushes, and the wave of water is said to be occasionally as much as six feet in height. Its waters are at this time heavily charged with detritus, and it well merits its name of the 'Bahr-el-Iswid,' or Black River. Between the Atbara and Omdurman, a distance of 210 miles, the river scenery, with the exception of the Shabluka rapids, is flat and tame. On the eastern bank the entire area is covered with a thick growth of low thorn jungle and the coarse grass known by the name of 'halfa.' Groups of palms mark the sites of what must once have been prosperous villages, and traces of old irrigation channels are still visible in the bush. On the western bank the desert, as a rule, approaches the river pretty closely. Here and there there is a strip of good land, but in every case the jungle has encroached and covered it. Occasional isolated granite hills stand out as landmarks, which break the monotony, and now and again the desert ranges border the river channel for some miles. The whole area, including both sides of the river, has an indescribably deserted appearance, and, with the exception of a few small villages, signs of life are entirely wanting. Even at Shendy and Metemmeh,

both of which were once important trade centres,* desolation reigns supreme. Shendy consists of a few ruins, while Metemmeh, which a few years ago was the capital of the Jaalin Arabs, is now inhabited chiefly by women and children.

One hundred and twelve miles upstream from the Atbara the reefs of the Sixth, or Shabluka, Cataract commence. The place is called Wad-Habeshi,† and is easily recognisable from the peculiarly shaped rocks which stand out at a short distance from the eastern bank. These rocks are known by the name of Hagar-el-Assal,‡ and mark the boundary between the provinces of Berber and Khartoum. From this point the character of the river entirely changes, and from dreary sameness develops a remarkable beauty. The channel is broken up by numerous thickly wooded islands, the trees of which are covered with a luxuriant growth of creepers, resembling nothing so much as a carpet of brilliant green velvet. The branches thus shrouded assume the most fantastic shapes, recalling the ruins of ivy-covered towers and battlements. The shores of these islands are fringed with grass and willows, the greens of which contrast sharply with the sombre colours of the tamarisks and acacias. Masses of purple convolvuli make an agreeable change to the prevailing greens and browns; the ever-changing lights and the iridescent tints of the water combine to form an effect of colour which must be seen to be appreciated. The channel is split up by granite reefs in every direction. Many of these appear above the surface, but the presence of those most to be dreaded by navigators is only indicated by a series of boiling eddies. Ascending the rapid the wildness of the scene increases. On either shore stretch serrated granite ridges, piled up in wild confusion. Those in the background assume a purple tinge, due to the distance, while those in the foreground have a deep ruddy hue, which contrasts forcibly with the shiny black colour of those rocks which have been subjected to the action of the water. In the distance the line of the Shabluka hills forms a violet

* Shendy, at the beginning of the present century, was an independent State. It was governed by a line of princes, of whom there were sixteen in all, and whose united reigns lasted 235 years. In later times it lost much of its importance owing to the ravages of the Shagiyeh Arabs.

† Perhaps originally an Abyssinian colony.

‡ Caillaud calls these rocks 'Hagar-el-Assad,' or the 'rocks of the lion,' from their supposed resemblance to that animal.

and grey background, while overhead is a cloudless sky, pale blue at the horizon, and deepening into sapphire at the zenith. As the Shabluka Pass is reached the river takes a sharp bend to the east, and runs for some four miles through a narrow gorge, formed by high granite cliffs on either side. The river channel is deep, and not more than 200 or 300 yards in width. The current in this pass is extremely strong. The entrance is guarded by five Dervish forts, four on the west and one on the east bank. On issuing from this gorge similar difficulties to those described for the lower rapid recommence. Once clear of these, however, navigation to Omdurman is easy, and is practicable throughout the year. The country on either side is flat and open —on the west desert, and on the east good land covered with scrub. Some of the larger islands produce fine crops of dhurra, and a good hay crop is gathered. The approach to Omdurman is marked by the line of the Kerreri hills, which indicate the scene of last year's battle. The town itself is difficult to distinguish at a short distance, so flat and low are its houses and so closely do they resemble the desert in colour. The general impression is one of horizontal lines, only broken by the Khalifa's house and the ruins of the Mahdi's tomb.

The town of Omdurman follows the river bank for nearly six miles, and has a breadth averaging a mile and a half. As the ground rises sharply away from the Nile, a great portion of the area covered is on high land. The houses are, with few exceptions, built of mud bricks with flat roofs. The Khalifa's house, and that of his brother Yakub, are constructed of burnt bricks, and are spacious and roomy buildings, with a curious maze of rooms and passages. Neither of them has any pretensions to architecture. Slatin's house is now the post and telegraph office, while the irony of history is displayed in the conversion of the Mahdi's house into the English club. It is with strange feelings that the visitor sees the walls of this building, once occupied by a self-styled saint, now decorated with prints from the illustrated papers, and hears English voices and laughter resound in the passages once thronged by savage fanatics. The remains of the Mahdi's tomb prove what the solidity of this structure must have been. Regarding the town from the river, the principal feature is the line of the 'sur,' or high masonry wall, which surrounds the immense enclosure, within which the *Jehadiah*, or black bodyguard, was located. The *Beit-el-Amana*, or store-

house, covers a considerable area of ground. The inner and older wall is constructed of mud bricks, but a second, of burnt bricks set in mortar, was added on receipt of the news that Dongola had fallen. In the space between the two walls is a round brick tower. From the top of this the Khalifa used to issue his proclamations, and from here his war drums (*nogara*) were beaten. In addition to the powder magazines, the store-rooms and yards contain the most miscellaneous collection of articles possible to conceive. Arms of all kinds, from steel Krupp breechloading guns and Nordenfelts to spears, swords, and axes, and even to poisoned arrows, stands of antiquated rifles, suits of chain mail, leather and wooden shields, slave whips and shackles, are lying about in profusion. Among the above an ancient piano, a lady's side-saddle, a European helmet and riding-boots, produce an incongruous effect. The Khalifa's state carriage, with its red wheels, yellow body, and blue hood and cushions, still stands in the outer courtyard. Altogether this store-house is well worth a visit.

The so-called 'open-air mosque' is merely a wall surrounding a large open space. At one time this used to contain a pulpit, from which the Khalifa was in the habit of addressing the multitude, but this has been removed. The Arsenal is now used as a workshop. It is situated close to the river. Unfortunately the health of Omdurman leaves much to be desired. Probably owing to the exhalations from the open cess-pits with which every dwelling is furnished, there has been an epidemic of the terrible malady known as cerebro-spinal meningitis. This disease, which is highly contagious, has carried off a considerable number of victims.

The Blue and White Niles unite some five miles south of Omdurman, and the Dervish steamer 'Tahra,' captured at the engagement of Hafir, now plies as a ferry-boat between Omdurman and Khartoum. The latter town was formerly situated upon the tongue of land between the two rivers, the Blue Nile passing along its northern face and separating it from the large island known by the name of Tuti. The contrast between the waters of the two Niles is most remarkable. The Blue Nile brings down a volume of clear blue water, and its velocity is so much greater than that of its sister river that it pushes the waters of the latter on to the further shore. The White Nile water, on the contrary, is turbid and sluggish, and of a dirty yellow or greenish colour. The line between the two currents can be traced

for a long way downstream. In flood the effect must be still more marked, as, although there is little change in the White Nile water, the Blue Nile brings down a coffee-coloured flood, with a velocity sufficient to bank up the waters of the other river. Of the old town of Khartoum not a building now remains standing. The groves and gardens have fortunately been spared, and the limes, pomegranates, oranges, and palms lend an agreeable change to the surrounding landscape. The panorama from the river front, looking north, is very beautiful. The dark blue of the Blue Nile contrasts with the green of the eastern bank, the white shoals of Tuti Island, and the dun-coloured buildings of Omdurman. In the distance the violet-coloured hills of Kerreri break, with their irregular outline, the dead level of the horizon. The process of rebuilding the town is being pushed on with great activity. Broad, well-laid-out streets have been cut and levelled, and trees have been planted on either side. The work on the public buildings is being rapidly carried out, and in a few years' time a new town will arise which will have few rivals in Central Africa.

For some 140 miles south of Khartoum the country on either side of the Blue Nile is flat and monotonous. The eastern bank is clothed with a belt of thick bush, while the western is more open. Villages are few in number, and, except at a few centres, the inhabitants are scanty. A fair strip of cultivation is met with on both foreshores, and occasionally waterwheels, or 'sakiehs,' are seen at work. The country is high and the banks are, as a rule, steep. The action of the current throughout is upon the eastern shore. The crops raised are of two kinds: those artificially irrigated during the winter and early summer, and those produced during the rainy season. The former comprise wheat, barley, sesame, lentils, vegetables, and a kind of haricot bean known as 'lubia atzi'; melons also are largely cultivated on the flats as the water falls. The chief rain crops are dhurra (maize) and cotton, but the latter is not cultivated as extensively as it used to be. Dhurra forms the staple food of the people, and an immense area is annually planted with it. As soon as the ground is sufficiently soft to permit of the operation holes are drilled in the soil about a yard apart, and the seed is inserted. No other preparation of the land is attempted. This crop is planted about the end of July, and harvested by the beginning of November.

At 142 miles from Khartoum the river Rahad enters the Blue Nile on its eastern bank. Forty-four miles further upstream the river Dinder joins the main stream. These two rivers have their origin in the western slopes of the Abyssinian mountains, in much the same region as that in which the Atbara and Settit Rivers take their rise. They run parallel throughout their course, at a distance averaging 60 or 70 miles. Their characteristics are very similar. Each has a deep and well-defined channel, with high and thickly wooded banks on either side. Each runs bank-full during the rainy season, shrinking for the rest of the year into a succession of pools. South of the junction with the Dinder River the scenery of the Blue Nile becomes wilder and more picturesque. The banks on either side are high, and except in the vicinity of Sennar, and round some of the principal villages, are covered with a thick growth of tropical vegetation. The cliffs average 40 feet above low water. The varied colours of the foliage, the many-hued flowers and creepers, the blueness of the sky and water—all these unite to form a panorama of striking beauty. Very few villages are to be seen, and the inhabitants have a poverty-stricken look. Of animal and bird life there is abundance. Troops of small monkeys spring from tree to tree, while large baboons stalk along in solemn single file. Beautiful and strange birds are to be seen in the forest, while on the river waterfowl are plentiful. Hippopotami make their appearance not unfrequently. At 426 miles from Khartoum the village of Rosaires* is situated on the eastern bank, and a few miles above this the last, or Seventh Cataract of the Nile commences. From this point navigation becomes impossible. The length of this rapid is some 30 miles. Masses of granite strew the river bed and the wildness of the scenery increases. The banks are high, and covered with dense forest, consisting of large trees and a tangled mass of undergrowth.[†]

Of all the towns or villages along the Blue Nile only two, Sennar and Wad Medani, merit special mention, the others consisting of straggling clusters of 'tukls,' or beehive shaped huts. Little but immense mounds of rubbish now remain to indicate the former glories of the once famous capital of the Fung. These are of great extent, and prove

* Rosaires is some 1,600 feet above mean sea-level.

[†] South of this point the Blue Nile is known by the name of the 'Abai.'

that the city must once have covered a large area of ground. Even in 1821, when visited by Caillaud, it was shorn of much of its ancient splendour, the only buildings of any importance being the king's palace (a four-storied brick building) and a large mosque. Sennar now consists of a collection of 'tukls' representing a very moderately sized village.

The town of Wad Medani is situated on the west bank of the Blue Nile, at 148 miles from Khartoum. It covers a large area of ground, and, owing probably to its being built upon a high ridge of gravel overlying a limestone foundation, it enjoys the reputation of being one of the healthiest spots in the Soudan. The population is variously estimated at from 15,000 to 25,000. A large market is held here every Monday and Thursday, and the scene on market days is a very busy one. The people come from long distances to attend it. Every type and colour is represented, from the blue-black Fung, with his woolly head and hairless face, to the copper-coloured Arab, with his harsh aquiline features, beard, and moustache. Even Egyptians are to be seen, but these are chiefly survivors of Hicks Pasha's army. Articles of divers kinds are exposed for sale. Excellent vegetables, such as tomatoes, onions, cucumbers, and radishes, grain of all kinds, and fresh limes, are to be obtained. Coloured cottons, beads, sugar, tobacco, gum, saddlery, and cheap European cutlery find a ready sale. The chief manufactures are sesame oil and soap. The inhabitants are skilled leather-workers, and tan skins excellently by means of the bark of the acacia tree. They are also expert in preparing ornamental polished leather. The town derives its name from the original Arab settlers belonging to the Medani tribe of Arabs. Their chief, Ahmed Sunni, who during the Khalifa's rule was Emir of the Ghezireh, is a tall, dark, intelligent-looking man, with fine features. According to him, the people are extremely well satisfied with the new rule, so much so that mothers frequently name their boys after the victorious English generals; thus, one is named 'Kitchener Mahomed,' another 'Hunter Hassan,' and so on. To the north of the town are the remains of an old brick mosque built by the founder of the Medani tribe more than two hundred years ago. His tomb is still standing, but the mosque was destroyed by the Mahdi. Here, as all over the Ghezireh, the people still possess the old 'hodgetts' (title deeds) granted by the Fung rulers. Altogether, Wad Medani is the most prosperous-looking

town in the Soudan, not even excepting Omdurman. When the new Government offices, now under construction, are completed, and the broad streets contemplated have been cut, it will be still further improved.

In order to describe the White Nile it is necessary to return to Khartoum and commence afresh. Allusion has been already made to the contrast between the Blue and the White Niles. This contrast becomes more marked as the traveller ascends the latter. Instead of a clear, rapid stream, running between high banks, with a well-defined and comparatively narrow channel, he might imagine that he was on a lake rather than a river. The current is sluggish and the waters are turbid. The strong north wind lashes its surface into waves of respectable size. The country on either side is so flat and low that the banks are hardly discernible, a line of trees in the extreme distance marking the position of the dry land. In flood even this does not represent the limits of the river, as the water spreads for miles on either side over the low flat shores. The trees consequently stand in water for several months of each year. The scenery is monotonous to a degree. Mile after mile is passed with no change, except that the forest belt at times gets thicker. On the eastern bank low thorn jungle alternates with stretches of low sandhills. On the west an expanse of broken ground extends to the horizon behind the line of mimosas and acacias which fringes the shore. A few villages are to be seen, and these of the poorest description. The chief cultivation is carried out upon the mud-flats which appear as the water recedes. Upon these, as they become uncovered, the inhabitants settle, and sow their summer crops, irrigating them by means of 'shadoofs.'* These flats, at first islands, eventually join on to the mainland. The principal crops raised upon them are lubia, onions, bahmia, dukhn, with a little wheat and barley. The above are planted in February, and harvested in May and June. When the rain falls dhrorra is planted on the mainland on either side, as on the Blue Nile. Waterfowl of every variety cover the river surface in myriads. At 149 miles from Khartoum the island of Abba is passed. This island, which is some twenty-five miles in length, is thickly wooded, and is chiefly remarkable as having been the residence of the Mahdi for several years

*A 'shadoof' is a pole with a bucket suspended at one end and a counterpoise at the other.'

prior to the rebellion. The remains of his house are still to be seen. At the south end of this island what is known as the 'sadd' vegetation commences. From this point a belt of floating herbage and reeds forms a never-ending accessory to the landscape. Between Abba Island and Fashoda a very few words will suffice to describe the river scenery. On either bank a line of forest, with dense under-growth; behind this again a plain of high grass stretching as far as the eye can see. In front of the forest, utterly preventing any communication with the shore, an expanse of swamp, perhaps a few hundred yards in width, perhaps a mile. This swamp is marked by tall rushes, which form a band of brilliant green on either side of the water channel. Its surface is covered with a thick mass of floating vegetation, which further to the south blocks the channels, and causes the obstruction known by the name of the 'sadd.' In these lower reaches, the current being too strong to permit of this, the 'sadd' is confined to a wide strip upon either side of the river. Floating islands of grass form a continual series of obstructions to the stream, and through and among these the river winds in a tortuous course. Frequently there are as many as three or four different channels. Throughout this length of river only two points break the level uniformity of the never-ending plains. These are the hills of Gebelain and Ahmad Aga, which rise like rocky islands out of the limitless sea of grass and bush.

The first of these, Gebelain (the two hills), is distant 251 miles from Khartoum. It consists of a group of five fantastically shaped granite peaks, forming a kind of amphitheatre on the eastern bank of the river. The highest of these is perhaps 400 feet, and is quite impossible to ascend, its summit resembling nothing so much as a huge egg with a polished surface, upon which nothing could possibly find a foothold. The seroot fly makes his first and most unwelcome appearance here. This pest, which is about the size of a wasp, is black in colour, with a few bars of brown or dusky orange. Woe to the unwary individual who attempts to slumber when the seroot fly is in search of a subject. Very shortly after he has relaxed his vigilance the fly settles upon his person, and in an incredibly quick time the sleeper starts up, probably with an imprecation upon his lips. A tiny spot of blood marks the spot where the needle-like proboscis has entered the skin. Although annoying to an extreme degree, the sting of the seroot leaves no ill effect upon human beings. It is said to be dangerous to domestic

animals, particularly to camels, but this requires authentication. However this may be, the natives, at the season when this fly is prevalent, invariably drive their cattle and camels inland, in order to escape the maddening torment caused by its sting.* The seroot disappears with the darkness, but at sundown his place is taken by myriads of small plagues, in the shape of mosquitoes, sand-flies, and midges. Throughout the night their hum resounds, and very little sleep will visit the eyes of anyone unfurnished with a mosquito net. So bad are they that a towel tied round the neck, gloves on the hands, and breeches and gaiters on the nether limbs, are the only possible means of sitting out their ceaseless attacks.

At seventy-five miles north of Fashoda the Shilluk village of Kaka is passed on the western bank. From this point south there is an endless succession of these villages. They follow the ridge parallel to the river, at a distance of from one to two miles from the channel, and separated from the latter by an impassable swamp. These villages are in a continuous line, each being distant from the other a few hundred yards at most. The peculiar dome or mushroom-shaped roofs of the 'tukls' give them the appearance of a line of hayricks or gigantic beehives. Groves of 'deleb' palms† follow the lines of the villages; masses of ambatch ‡ and papyrus § appear in the swamps, the bright yellow flowers of the former contrasting agreeably with the sombre-coloured heads of the latter and with the eternal green of the reeds. Shortly before Fashoda is reached the islands increase in number and the channel gets more difficult to mark. The forest on either bank disappears, and the marsh scenery attains its fullest development.

Fashoda is situated on the west bank of the White Nile, at 470 miles from Khartoum. The fort and camp are situated upon a small promontory jutting out into the swamp, connected with the mainland by a narrow neck. During the rainy season even this peninsula becomes a morass. The description applied by a well-known writer to

* Although it is doubtful whether the sting of the seroot is fatal to animals, there is another fly on the Blue Nile, south of Karkauj, whose sting causes death, more particularly to horses and camels. The Arabs call it 'duban,' but this is merely the Arabic name for a fly. It is not the 'tsetse,' but of its existence there appears to be no doubt.

† *Borassus flabelliformis.*

‡ *Cyperus papyrus.*

§ *Herminiera elaphoxyylon.*

the White Nile generally is specially applicable to Fashoda—‘a heaven for mosquitoes and a damp hell for men.’* The whole place has a fever-stricken air, and even during the healthiest months of the year some 90 per cent. of the garrison are *hors de combat* from the effects of malaria. The French fortifications are situated north of the military camp, and stand out as landmarks above the marsh. To the east and in front of the fort runs a sluggish stream, some sixty to seventy yards in width. Beyond this is a long, low grass island, and beyond this again the main stream of the river, perhaps 500 yards in breadth. East of this extends a dead-flat plain of marsh and grass, which looks as if the swamp extended to the world’s end. Not a tree or a bush breaks the horizon anywhere; nothing is visible but reeds and high grass. The climate is steamy and enervating, the shade temperature at midday, even in the winter, averaging 100° F.

The Saubat River joins the Nile on the eastern bank, sixty miles south of Fashoda. Its width at the junction is from eighty to ninety yards, and its depth is considerably over twenty feet. Its waters are tinged with a peculiarly creamy white colour,† and their junction with the clear greenish grey waters of the Nile is marked by a sharp line, which extends for some distance downstream. The Saubat is undoubtedly a stream having its origin in a mountain region, and although its sources have not yet been explored, it seems almost certain that its main volume is derived from the western slopes of the hills of the Béni Shangul country. At 290 miles from its junction with the Nile two tributaries unite to form the main stream. That to the south-west is called by the inhabitants the Pibor,‡ while the other, which comes from the east, is known as the Adura.§ This last, again, derives its water from at least two tributary streams, one being known by the name of the Kir, and the other as the Baro. The Saubat River runs bank-full during the months of August, September, and October. In November it begins to fall rapidly, and during the early summer months it is not navigable. The military post and fort of Nasser is on the left bank of the river, at

* Sir Samuel Baker.

† The Saubat is called by the Arabs the ‘Bahr El-Asfar,’ or ‘yellow river.’ It is probably from the tinge given by the Saubat waters that the White Nile has received its name.

‡ Called on the French maps the Juba.

§ Called on the French maps the Baro.

181 miles from its mouth, while another fort is situated on the same side at its junction with the Nile.

Upstream of the Saubat junction the Nile scenery becomes, if possible, more and more dreary. The swamp becomes wider, the reeds become higher, and the islands more numerous. One of these latter, known as Tonga Island, extends from the Saubat River to the junction with the Bahr El-Zaraf. At its northern end the supposed river Lollé enters the Nile on the western bank.* Opposite the southern end of the Tonga Island the last Shilluk village is met with, and from this point south no signs of human habitation are visible. It becomes impossible to tell where the swamp ends and the solid ground begins; the width of the former may be five, ten, or even as much as twenty miles. The ambatch and papyrus reeds grow in tall masses on all sides, and the rush known as the 'om-soof,' or 'mother of wool,' fills up the spaces left between the other two. The river surface is covered with a thick mass of floating weeds some four to five feet in thickness. This is composed partly of rotting vegetation and partly of a variety of swimming plants with feathery streamers. These last bind the whole in an impassable tangle, through which nothing can force its way. At 560 miles from Khartoum the Bahr El-Zaraf, or Giraffe River, enters the Nile on the right bank. Four isolated peaks lie to the east of the junction. This stream is an overspill from the main river, has a length of over 200 miles, and runs in a winding course through a succession of vast marshes and shallow lagoons. It is frequently blocked by the 'sadd' barrier, but when free it brings down a very considerable volume of clear amber-coloured water. Its current in places is very strong. That it has a connexion with the main Nile near Shambé is certain, but through navigation is at present impossible. At 610 miles from Khartoum Lake No is reached. This sheet of water, called by the Arabs 'Moghren El-Buhur,' or the 'meeting of the rivers,' is a wide shallow lake covered with reedy patches, whose extent is unknown.† It is full of rotting vegetation, and forms a large evaporating basin for

* An attempt was made last April to navigate the Lollé. At its mouth it is about 100 yards in width, with a depth at low water of five feet. Twenty-six miles upstream its width was forty yards, and from this point it was blocked by 'sadd.'

† Its area has been estimated as sixty square miles, but the swamp extends all round it to such a distance that any accurate estimate of its superficies is impossible.

the waters of the Nile. At its northern end the Bahr El-Jebel* enters it, having passed through some 200 miles of hopeless swamp since leaving its upper and more open reaches. The channel of this river is, at present, completely barred by the 'sadd,' and navigation is impossible. So thick is this barrier, that in places men can walk upon its surface without danger. Underneath it the river flows with a fair velocity. Its width at the mouth is about eighty yards, and its course can be traced through the swamp by the different colour of the vegetation which blocks its channel from that of the adjacent reeds. Some four miles south of the point where the Bahr El-Jebel enters Lake No, the Bahr El-Ghazal, or Gazelle River, discharges its waters into the same lake. This river, which has its source in the southern portion of the Darfur mountain chain, comes in from the westward. It is joined from the west by the Bahrs El-Arab and El-Homr, and south of Meshra El-Rek by an important tributary called the Sueh, whose sources are as yet undetermined. During the winter and summer months the Bahr El-Ghazal is practically stagnant. In flood it brings down a large quantity of water. It passes through a horrible treeless swamp, bounded by immense grass plains.

Monotonous and melancholy as is the White Nile scenery as a whole, under certain conditions of light and atmosphere even these lonely marshes attain a weird picturesqueness almost amounting to beauty. Moonrise in these swamps, at times, creates a succession of striking pictures. Until the moon has risen sufficiently high to clear the mists which brood over the water surface, her orb assumes a deep rosy red, and set in a smoke-coloured sky the effect is so remarkable as to appear unnatural. As she ascends, her colour changes to a golden orange, her path being reflected in the stream by a series of brilliant bars, and the increasing light bathes sky and water in one uniform violet hue. The feathery tops of the reeds and the funereal-looking heads of the papyrus stand out in black and ghostly-looking masses. Not a breath stirs the reeds or the water. The air is full of strange sounds; night birds croak, heavy fish splash, crickets sing in the grass, and the mosquito hums his eternal song. The hippopotamus, at intervals, utters hoarse bellows and grunts, as he forces his way through the

* South of Lake No the White Nile is called the 'Bahr El-Jebel,' or 'mountain river.'

rushes and occasionally reveals his huge proportions in the moonlight. Myriads of fireflies flit about, each switching on and off his tiny flame as though it were an electric lamp. Altogether, a night in these swamps produces an effect of unearthliness rarely to be experienced in other localities, and renders it possible, at the time, to believe almost any wild legend regarding their extent and origin, and the mysterious dangers which lurk within their lonely fastnesses.

At sunset, again, when the sad landscape is enveloped by the brilliant lustre which invariably accompanies the disappearance of the sun, the strange beauty of the colours casts a brief enchantment over the scene, and the dismal reality is for the moment forgotten.

A dead-level horizon unbroken by a single tree or bush extends upon every side. In the west, as the sun sinks, bars of pink, amber, salmon, cream, and gold slant across a pale green sky, the radiance extending vertically overhead. Outside the limits of the light, in all directions, stretches a veil of blue-grey mist of the most tender colour imaginable. In the north-west, on the extreme horizon, separated from the real sunset by an expanse of pearly sky, is a deep rose glare, which by degrees becomes a glowing crimson. This, again, is separated from the blue above by a violet and purple line of light clouds.

In the grass country during the early spring months the jungle fires present a most imposing sight, especially on a moonless night. An immense range of flame lights up the sky for miles, at times blazing fiercely, and at others dying away. The crimson tints of these fires are reflected in the water with startling clearness, and the outlines of the trees stand out in inky blackness. The brilliancy of the stars in these latitudes is remarkable, and the Southern Cross and the Great Bear may frequently be observed in the heavens at the same time.

One great and endless charm the White Nile possesses, in the varied animal and bird life which throngs its banks and its waters. On the river itself, the clumsy hippopotamus shares his domain with gigantic crocodiles of unparalleled length and hideousness. On the edge of the swamp, storks, cranes, divers, ibises, and endless varieties of ducks congregate in countless numbers. On the grassy plains and in the forest, antelopes of many species graze at will. Occasionally a troop of giraffes may be seen, their dappled hides catching the light from the sun, and their fore legs dangling

in a manner peculiar to themselves as they trot away. Now and again, if he be fortunate, the traveller may have the luck to watch a herd of wild elephants unconscious of observation. The bulk of these monsters, their gleaming ivories, their gigantic ears flapping grotesquely as they walk, all combine to form a picture which he will not easily forget. Upon one side, a group of patriarchs may be seen standing in line, apparently lost in meditation, a mighty bull, with long white tusks, towering above all his fellows. On the other side, the younger and more frivolous members of the herd are perhaps grazing, tearing down trees, or playing with one another in a series of clumsy gambols. On the back of each elephant are invariably seated one or more white birds.

Many more instances might be given, did space permit, of the charm which the Soudan possesses for the sportsman and the naturalist. Upon all, indeed, who have once visited it, this country appears to cast a spell which impels them to endeavour to return to it. The influence is inexplicable, but it is there. However glad the traveller, at the time, may be to leave its fierce heat, its mosquitoes, and its fever-stricken swamps, it is certain that, sooner or later, he will forget all these discomforts, and only long to once more see that mysterious and fascinating land. Should it happen that, even when far away, anything, such as the faint sweet smell of the mimosa flower, shall recall the Soudan to him, he will be seized with an irresistible longing once more to revisit its lonely plains, and once more to navigate its wondrous rivers.

The inhabitants of the Soudan may be divided into two great classes, those of Arab and those of Negro blood. In many places the two races have been much mixed, but both the nomad tribes and the Negroids have retained their racial characteristics unchanged. The parallel of lat. N. 12° may be said to fairly accurately mark the boundary between the two. In certain localities, more particularly east of the Blue Nile, mixed races are to be met with south of this parallel, but as a rule the Arab is not to be found south, or the Negro north, of the above-mentioned degree of latitude.

Commencing from the Atbara River, the general distribution of the principal Arab tribes may be briefly described. Between the Atbara and Khartoum, remnants of the once powerful clans of Jaalin, Hassaniyeh, and Batahin occupy the country on either side of the Nile. On the Blue Nile,

and in the Gezireh, the Shukriyeh, Wad Medani, Dabahna, Kawalhalah, and Kenana Arabs form the bulk of the nomad population. On the White Nile, the Shanabla, Guamar, and Wad Selim (the two latter being branches of the Baggara tribe) are located upon the western bank, the Wad Ragheb and Shankab Arabs taking their places upon the eastern bank. All of the above are split up into numerous subdivisions, each having a distinctive tribal name, although retaining their brotherhood with the main tribe from which they are descended. The Arabs of the Soudan, although preserving the marked features of their race, represent all shades of colour in their complexion. The majority are very dark-skinned, many of them rivalling the tint of the Negro. The men are, as a rule, tall and well built. Most of them shave the head, anointing it copiously with grease, and allowing the beard and moustache to grow. To this the Kenana, and some others of the Blue Nile Arabs, form exceptions, as they wear the hair in straight plaits, like the Kabbabish of the Dongola deserts. All males are marked by two, or more, scars, cut slanting upon either cheek. The usual dress of the Arab tribes is a loose white smock and drawers, with a white turban wound round the 'takya' or skull-cap. Yellow leather slippers, or occasionally long, soft leather riding-boots, complete their costume. Their arms consist of cross-hilted swords, broad-bladed lances, and antiquated rifles and muskets. They are great camel breeders, and many tribes possess large flocks of sheep and goats. Horses are rare among them. Several of the tribes, notably the Kenana and Shankab, are reputed to still cherish strong leanings towards the Khalifa. Although treacherous and untrustworthy, they are brave, and fierce fighters. Fanaticism, in the true sense of the word, can no longer be said to exist.

All over the Soudan the women of the Arab tribes dress their hair in short, thick, twisted plaits, cut square at the ends, and exactly resembling the style so commonly reproduced in the Egyptian paintings and sculptures. They are as a rule extremely ill-favoured, probably owing to the severe drudgery which they have undergone since childhood. Occasionally the younger girls are good-looking. Married women wear petticoats and sheets of unbleached, or indigo-dyed cotton. Young girls only wear the 'rahia,' or apron of twisted cords.

South of Hellet El-Reng the Fung and Hamegh country begins. The former tribe, which is supposed

to have originally emigrated from Darfur, has almost disappeared, being replaced by the latter. The Hamegh are a race of Negroids who, from their former inter-mixture with the Arabs, have retained the religion of Islam. They are reputed to be a dirty, indolent race, but very little is known as yet regarding them. The Beni Shangul chain of hills is inhabited by a race calling themselves by that name. They are of mixed blood, Mohammedans by religion, and talking Arabic. South of these mountains is the Galla country, which is well-watered and fertile, and it seems likely, should the Cape to Cairo railway scheme ever approach the region of possibility, that the line, instead of traversing the White Nile plains and swamps, will be taken along the spurs of the Beni Shangul hills and through the Galla district, *via* Lake Rudolph, to Uganda.

The principal Negro races inhabiting the reconquered provinces of the Soudan are the Shilluk, the Dinka, and the Nuer. Other tribes which formerly existed in the vicinity of the Saubat, such as the Bonjak and Falang, have now disappeared, while the once powerful race of Nyuak has been so completely mastered by the Nuer that it can scarcely now be said to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Shilluk country commences at Abu Zeid, on the western bank of the White Nile, 190 miles south of Khartoum. From this point to Tonga, a distance of 325 miles, the villages of this tribe form an almost continuous line along the west bank of the river. Between Fashoda and the Bahr El-Zaraf the Shilluk inhabit both banks of the Nile, but the western bank is their particular stronghold. The Dinka, at one time the most numerous of the Negro tribes of the White Nile, formerly occupied the whole eastern bank of this river from Gebelain to the Saubat, and their country extended far inland, into the Ghezireh and the Fung district. Owing to the continual raiding to which they were subjected by the slave traders, they eventually deserted the river banks entirely, and although a few Dinka villages are still to be met with in the interior, it is in the western portion of the Bahr El-Ghazal province that this people must now be sought for. In the first sixty miles from the mouth of the Saubat, Dinka are to be found upon the right bank of the river. The next forty miles are occupied by the remnants of the Nyuak tribe; beyond this the Nuer have seized the whole country bordering this river and its branches. The latter are also to be found on the Bahr El-Ghazal, between Lake No and the junction of the Bahr

El-Arab. South of this point they are replaced by the Dinka, with whom they appear to have a constant feud. On the swamps of the Bahr El-Zaraf and the Bahr El-Jebel a few Nuer and Dinka villages exist, on the higher spots which emerge from the surrounding marshes.

The Shilluk probably now number something over half a million in all. They cultivate sufficient dhurra for their needs during the rainy season, also a certain amount of vegetables, but their principal occupation is cattle breeding. They possess immense herds, which form their chief wealth. Although they breed sheep, they do not value these as they do their cattle, for which they have a special affection almost amounting to reverence. They never kill them, and only eat those which have died a natural death. It is with the greatest difficulty that they can be induced to sell them. Their affection for their cattle would seem to be much greater than for their parents or children, for neither of whom do they appear to have any special regard. A Shilluk woman will leave her six-months-old baby out in the rain and mud, while she most carefully sees to the housing of the cattle at nightfall. As a race the Shilluk appear to attach no value to social ties. Their women are mere drudges, and perform all the field as well as the house work. The men devote themselves to hunting and fishing, and when not thus employed lie about all day smoking, with their beloved spears within easy reach of their hands. They are true Negroes, but, with the exception of the full lips, they show few of the Negro characteristics. It is true that the colour of their skin is black, but their features are extremely good. They have straight noses, and a pleasant, good-humoured expression. The men are exceptionally tall, few of them being under six feet in height, many of them reaching six feet six inches, and occasionally even more. They are of slight build, with narrow shoulders. Their length of limb is remarkable, but notwithstanding their extreme length of thigh, the hand reaches well below the knee when the arm hangs loosely down. The men are, as a rule, entirely naked, with the exception of a string of beads round the neck and a double row round the loins. They wear thick ivory armlets on the arms above the elbow. Since the advent of the Anglo-Egyptian force the Shilluk would appear to have become ashamed of their nakedness, and at the military posts are generally to be seen wearing a short toga over the left shoulder, leaving the right bare. This garment is made of unbleached cotton, open at either

side, and reaching to the knee. A Shilluk dandy dresses his hair, which is very abundant and long, in the most fanciful and fantastic methods possible. The most common fashion is to wear it standing up like a large fan, or comb, at the back of the head. It is worked into the required shape with a mixture of ashes, cow-dung, and grease, until it becomes perfectly stiff and hard, and until its texture resembles felt. The size of this ornament is about ten inches by five. Others, again, wear their hair raised along the centre of the scalp, giving it the appearance of a cock's-comb or the crest of an old Greek helmet. Some, again, work it into parallel ridges exactly resembling the teeth of a cogged wheel. The short hair on either side of these erections is frequently worked up into a series of reddish, glistening blobs, much resembling sealing-wax. This effect is obtained by anointing it with a mixture of red earth and cow's urine. The men are also in the habit of ornamenting their foreheads and chest with a kind of tattooing. This decoration consists of one, two, or three lines of raised lumps on the skin. These are evidently caused by incision and the insertion of some foreign substance into the wound. Some paint these forehead spots white, with black centres like eyes. Others tie rows of common metal buttons across their foreheads. One and all are fond of sticking bits of ostrich feathers about their hair, and many of them cover their bodies with a coating of white wood-ashes; this, with their extraordinary head-dresses, gives them the aspect of long-limbed spectres.

The women, as regards their appearance, are the very opposite of the men, and take but small pains with their toilet. In stature they are extremely short, and in feature most repulsive. They either shave the head completely, or leave the hair in very short, close curls. Their only garment consists of a couple of goatskins, hung by a cord round the neck, one in front and one behind. These skins have the hair outside, and, being quite stiff and open at either side, remind one irresistibly of the boards carried by a sandwich man. Round the waist they wear the usual apron of plaited leather. Both sexes wear rings in the tops of their ears, but the women carry few ornaments beyond quantities of beads. The Shilluk, like most Central African tribes, remove the lower incisor teeth at an early age. Circumcision is not practised, and is looked upon as a disgrace. The favourite arm of the Shilluk is the spear, and no male ever, if he can help it, moves without one. These weapons

are hereditary, and nothing will induce them to sell them ; they have a long, thin, broad blade, tapering to a fine point, about eighteen inches in length. The butt of the lance is decorated with a thick bunch of black ostrich feathers. Their other arm is a club made of hard wood, with a shaft about two feet long. This tapers to a point, and has a hemispherical head much resembling a gigantic nail. When walking the Shilluk carries his club in one hand and his spear in the other, the latter carried horizontally with the point behind him. He swings along, thus armed, with an indescribable swagger. Their pipes deserve mention. The bowls are made of burnt clay, and hold several ounces of tobacco ; the stem is a hollow reed about two feet long, and the mouthpiece is made of a small dried gourd.

They are great hunters, and kill both the hippopotamus and the crocodile with rude harpoons. They attach floats of ambatch wood to the latter, and, finding the animal asleep, harpoon him and let him go. The following day they find him by means of the floats, and despatch him with their lances. Their canoes are of the rudest description, some twenty feet long by two feet six inches wide by two feet deep ; they are flat-sided and flat-bottomed ; the planks are attached to one another by cords ; the paddles are six feet long, with a narrow blade of two and a half inches in width. They also use rafts made of bundles of ambatch stems tied together and tapering to a point. In these they fish, or cross the river. The Shilluk, in common with the Dinka and the Nuer, have the habit of standing for long periods upon one leg. They press the sole of one foot against the calf of the other leg, and rest themselves upon a spear. Although liable to sudden fits of ferocity and treachery, as their past history shows, they are on the whole trustworthy. They show an almost touching confidence in the English officers whom they have met, and will leave their most cherished possessions in their charge.*

The Shilluks are governed by a 'mek,' or king. Under him are superintendents governing from seventy to a hundred villages, and to each village there is an overseer or headman. The procedure at the death of a mek is as follows. The dying mek calls an assembly of all the headmen. Before this assembly he himself names his successor,

* A very bad impression was made among them owing to the men of an Egyptian battalion having stolen the spears which the Shilluks had left in their charge.

who must be of royal blood. He hands him the spear of office, and the headmen and people then swear allegiance. Should the mek die suddenly, before the people can be assembled, the headmen and people elect his successor, if possible, in accordance with the wishes of the deceased.

Justice is administered by judges regularly appointed by the mek. There is one chief judge and two sub-judges to the tribe. All disputes are laid before the king, who either disposes of them himself or sends them for trial. The court is always composed of one judge and five members selected from among the headmen. Some of their punishments are severe. One of the commonest is to place a heavy forked piece of wood on the prisoner's neck, with his throat in the fork. At the back a second piece is lashed, through which a sharp nail is driven. This works into the neck on the slightest movement. In cases of murder the person convicted suffers confiscation of all his household property, his wives, children, cattle, and flocks. All these become the property of the nearest relation of the murdered person. The murderer is, according to the degree of his offence, hanged, banished, or suffered to remain in the country deprived of all tribal privileges.

Some of their customs are curious. When a Shilluk falls ill, his friends sit round him in a circle, and cutting off the ear of a live sheep, give him this to eat. They then kill the animal, and taking out its intestines, spread these all over the patient.

They appear to have no religion, but are said to revere the name of a certain former hero of the tribe. They are polygamists.

The Shilluk houses are of the type generally known as 'tukls.' These are circular buildings with mud walls, about ten feet in diameter and six feet in height. They have no windows, and one door about four feet high. They are surmounted by a beautifully thatched roof, made of dhurra straw, coming to a point about twelve feet from the floor. The plaiting inside is most cleverly done, and these roofs keep out the heavy annual rains. The floors are of mud, and are kept scrupulously clean. At night the doors are closed, and fires are lighted inside the huts to keep out the mosquitoes. They drink much milk, mixing it with the urine of the cow; using the latter also to clean their cooking utensils and to anoint their persons.

The present mek, or king, is named Koor Wad Medok, and was appointed by the Khalifa in 1890. He wears

clothes, and a tarbush, or fez. In age he is about forty, and his complexion is very dark. He is an intelligent-looking man. His people obey his slightest gesture. In walking he leans on the shoulder of a Shinagir Arab, who accompanies him as interpreter. The saddle of his donkey is covered with a leopard skin. He never moves without an escort of some fifty chiefs, armed with spears and clubs. He has developed a strong liking for alcoholic drinks, and always indulges in a whisky-and-soda when visiting the English officers. Upon first hearing the pipes of the 3rd Battalion of Egyptian Infantry, the king's dignity fell off him like a cloak. He rose up and danced a solemn but savage measure to the sound of the music. Upon the whole he appears to govern well, and to be friendly to the new Administration.

The Dinka closely resemble the Shilluk in figure and in stature; if anything, they are the taller race of the two. They have good and intelligent features. Here, again, the chief sign of Negro blood is in the lips. In colour they are extremely dark, probably darker than any other specimens of the human race. Their hair is far scantier than that of the Shilluk, and they take no pains to dress or train it. As a rule, it sticks up straight from the head, although occasionally it is plaited in fine braids. The reddish brown colour which distinguishes the hair of the Dinka is produced artificially.* Some shave the head altogether, and some, again, whiten the hair with wood-ashes; like the Shilluk, they are fond of covering their bodies with this last substance. The men are perfectly naked, but the women wear goatskin aprons. The Dinka women are also much shorter than the men, but are not as ill-favoured as are their Shilluk sisters. Both sexes pierce the ears and insert pieces of iron. The women sometimes bore the upper lip, and run an iron pin, with a bead at the end, through it like a skewer. They remove the lower incisor teeth. Both men and women wear beads round the neck and loins, and the males are fond of ivory armlets. The women put on as many heavy iron anklets as they can carry. The Dinka is fond of decorating his forehead with a series of lumps raised on the skin; but instead of running horizontally across, like those of the Shilluk, they radiate upwards from the nose as a centre, as many as ten rows being sometimes seen. The arms of the Dinka are lances

* By washing it in cow's urine.

and clubs, but the latter are their favourite weapons. These clubs are made of very hard wood, such as the heglig (balanites). They somewhat resemble those of the Shilluk in their general nail-like appearance, but beneath the head several rows of rings, something like the threads of a screw, are carved. They are great cattle and sheep breeders, and resemble the Shilluk in their affection for the former. They are an extremely clean people, and keep their huts or 'tukls' in a state of great cleanliness. They cultivate dhurra largely, and a certain amount of tobacco, ground-nuts, &c. They are better agriculturists than the Shilluk. The Dinka are skilled hunters, and trap elephants in pits. Antelope they catch by means of nooses attached to springs, very like those used by poachers in Europe. They are said to revere snakes, and even to make pets of them.*

They are not ruled by one mek, each section of the tribe being under one chief or headman. The principal subdivisions are the Bow-Wan, Akkou, Agare, Gee-Yel, Barr, Nee-Yell, Baw-Yen, and Dungal.

The Nuer, the natural rivals of the Dinka, with whom they appear to have a standing feud, are perhaps the most shy of all the White Nile Negroids. So far all attempts on the part of the English officers to win their confidence have failed. Some few have come in, but as a whole the tribe has stood entirely aloof, the people taking to the forest at the approach of a steamer. This is to be attributed to their classification of all Europeans and Egyptians as Turks, for whom they have the greatest dread and hatred. Their timidity may also be due to their near neighbourhood to the Abyssinians, a proximity which the Nuer have good reason to regret.† When a Nuer can be induced to visit a European his method of approach is upon his hands and knees. He testifies his respect by planting his tongue in the palm of the great man's hand. The men go stark naked, but the women wear a diminutive piece of goatskin hung in front, and an arrangement of rushes, like a bustle, behind. They possess large herds of cattle and sheep, but do not appear to attach such reverence to the former as do the Shilluk and the Dinka. Neither do they value their spears to the extent that the Shilluk do. The Nuer are of fine physique,

* Casati.

† In June 1898 an Abyssinian force, some 4,000 strong, marched down the Saubat River to its junction with the White Nile, raiding the country as it passed. It was accompanied by two French civilians, one Russian Guardsman, and at least one mule-battery.

and in colour are much lighter than the Dinka. They are distinguishable by their hair, which stands up straight and is almost invariably dyed red. They have medicine-men, or witch doctors, who wear most fantastic head-dresses and wigs of false hair. When they see a European or a stranger they wave their hands, apparently to keep off evil. Their 'tukls' are larger than those of the Dinka and Shilluk, but are kept equally clean. The only entrance is by a circular door from eighteen inches to two feet in circumference. The Nuer are very excitable, and when the young men quarrel the older men promptly hide all the spears and other weapons upon which they can lay their hands. A very noticeable fact is the way in which the Nuer have increased their power in the vicinity of the Saubat River. They have practically wiped out the Falang and Bonjak, who were the original occupiers of this region. Of the Nyuak only a remnant now remains, and this is completely subject to the Nuer. Like all the adjacent tribes, the Nuer are polygamists; their women are short and extremely ugly. They are said to be fierce fighters and expert hunters, but as yet very little is known of them. Owing to their extreme shyness it will require years of patient kindness before this interesting people can be induced to trust to the justice of their new rulers. The foregoing description comprises all the tribes included within the present limits of the Egyptian Soudan.

The climate of the Soudan varies considerably, according to the locality, but it may be divided into two great seasons, the dry and the rainy. Although the regular rains are not met with north of the 15th parallel of latitude, many showers and thunderstorms occur as far as lat. N. 17°. The climate in the northern portions much resembles that of the Dongola Province. For nine months of the year it is very dry, in the winter being quite cold, and in the early summer extremely hot. During the dry months the prevailing winds are from the north and north-west; with the first showers they veer round and blow steadily from the south and south-east. The rainy season in the neighbourhood of Khartoum commences in July and ends in September. During this period thunderstorms are of frequent occurrence, and heavy showers fall almost daily. After the cessation of the rainy season malarious fevers are rife. On the Blue Nile and in the Ghezireh the rains commence about the end of May, and an intermittent rainfall is experienced to the end of October. From June to the end

of September this becomes regular and of daily occurrence. The hottest months of the year are April, May, and June. The maximum temperature during this period frequently averages 103° F. It rarely sinks below 89° F. South winds blow constantly during this season, but when storms ensue the wind veers round to all points of the compass. During the latter days of the rains the temperature falls, the average maximum and minimum ranging from 99° F. to 74° F. The air is very damp and muggy, especially after 4 P.M. In the winter months the climate is cool and pleasant, although the sun is hot. North and north-west winds prevail, generally falling at sunset. The nights are frequently warm and steamy, but as a rule about 3 A.M. the temperature falls and a breeze springs up. On the White Nile and its affluents the rainy season begins rather earlier than on the Blue Nile. Thus, on the Saubat River the rains commence in the end of April and continue to the end of October. On the Bahr El-Ghazal and in the 'sadd' region the first rain falls in March and the last about the middle of October. There are two periods when heavy and continuous rain falls in these localities. The first is during April and May, and the second in July and September. Here, as on the Blue Nile, winds blow steadily from the south throughout the rainy season, while during the dry months they blow equally steadily from the north. The temperature on the southern reaches of the White Nile is not subject to the same variations as in other parts of the river valley. Thus, in the 'sadd' region the average temperature throughout the year is 85° F. In the neighbourhood of Fashoda, even in the winter, it reaches 100° F. in the shade, but it rarely exceeds this at any period of the year. West of the White Nile, in Kordofan, where there is less moisture, the differences of the temperature are much greater. In the winter months the average maximum and minimum temperatures are 89° and 59° F. In the heat of summer these increase to 100° and 77° F.

The excessive rainfall which visits the Soudan during many months annually gives rise to malarial fevers of an especially severe type. These fevers are common to the whole country during the autumn and winter months, more especially so in the vicinity of the White and Blue Niles. In the former, the swamped area and the rotting vegetation are sufficient cause for the unhealthiness of the tract; in the latter, the denseness of the forests and the accumulated leaf-mould of centuries produce damp and steamy mists

under the hot rays of the equatorial sun, and create an atmosphere which seems to be specially favourable to the germination of malaria. From the end of September to the beginning of January both these rivers are hotbeds of fever; even in the months of February and March certain localities remain dangerous to all except the natives of the district. During last year's expedition the troops which visited the two rivers suffered very severely from the pestilential climate, and the number of officers and men who were invalidated was very considerable. From 80 to 90 per cent. were incapacitated, and even the Soudanese troops did not escape. The inhabitants of the Blue Nile exhibit all the appearance of chronic malarial poisoning. They are extremely anaemic, and suffer from enlarged spleen and dropsy. Egyptians fall victims to the fever equally with Europeans, and the garrisons of Nasser and Fashoda show a terrible return of sickness. The Shilluk and other Negro tribes appear to be free from the ill-effects of these fevers, but upon the advent of the rainy season they invariably leave the river banks and make their temporary abode in the higher and more open lands of the interior. This extreme unhealthiness of the climate must of necessity prove an almost insuperable bar to the reclamation of the country. Until the forests are cleared and the swamps drained, Europeans will never be able to remain in the fever-stricken districts during the seasons when the disease is prevalent. Even in the more open parts of the country malaria of a milder type is existent at the close of the rains, when the country is drying up. It is indispensable, if Englishmen are to remain in the Soudan and introduce the necessary reforms, that they shall be enabled to absent themselves annually for several months, and have the opportunity of recruiting their energies in a cooler and more healthy climate. Other diseases common to the Soudan are dysentery and small-pox. At times an epidemic of typhus fever sweeps over it, and syphilis is apparently prevalent everywhere. On the Blue Nile the guinea-worm is met with, and in the Bahr El-Ghazal Province the 'sleeping sickness' claims its victims.

Allusion has already been made to the peculiar disease known as cerebro-spinal meningitis. In the present year it worked its way up both Niles, and it is said, that no such severe epidemic of this malady has been known since the year 1878. The Soudan climate during the early summer months is healthy, and if protected against the sun, and

clothed so as to guard against chills, the European may venture into any part of the country with impunity.

It is difficult at present to foresee in which direction the future developement of these vast regions lies. So little is as yet known regarding their possible resources, and so much necessary work lies before the governing staff in forming the elements of an Administration, that for some years to come the time of its officers must be fully taken up by this task. Years of patient labour and self-sacrificing work on their part must pass before any decided result of their efforts will be visible. There are many grave obstacles to immediate progress, some of them due to physical causes, and others resulting from years of misgovernment.

The first, and perhaps the most insuperable of these, lies in the extreme unhealthiness of the country, to which ample allusion has been made. A land, in great portions of which the European cannot live without serious risk of loss of health, and even of life itself, is not one in which the energy of the white race can easily assert its superiority. It cannot too strongly be insisted upon, that if Englishmen are to remain in and administer the Soudan they must be generously treated both as regards leave and salary. They will voluntarily give up all social pleasures and ties, and it is to be feared that, with all precautions, the deadly climate will slowly but surely undermine their health. It is imperative that continuity, as regards the English officials, should be secured, and that there should be as few changes as possible in the *personnel* of the governing staff. With these 'silent, sullen peoples,' the only possibility of overcoming their shyness and winning their confidence will lie in their attaining personal knowledge of their rulers, and in their belief that the latter will remain with them, and live in their midst. The most careful choice must be exercised in the selection of the English mudirs or governors, and, once found, every possible endeavour must be used to enable them to support the arduous life which they have accepted, and to give them such comforts and privileges as are compatible with the situation. The lives of such men will be of incalculable value to the country, and any attempt to treat them on other but liberal terms will speedily prove to be a false economy, and will inevitably retard progress.

The depopulation of the Soudan is another and serious bar against any early return to prosperity. It will be impossible to restore trade, or to extend and improve cultivation upon any large scale, until there shall be a sufficiency

of inhabitants for the purpose. Time, peace, rest, and the recuperative forces of nature are the only restoratives for this evil. In all probability, a generation or more will elapse before the population attains to anything like the figure existing prior to the advent of the Turks. A third obstacle to quick recovery is caused by the nature of the people themselves. The Arab of pure blood scorns to work with his hands, and has invariably in the past made use of the inferior race—the black—for all work necessitating manual labour, either in the field or in the town. With the suppression of slavery the supply of such workers is no longer at his disposal, and if any toil is to be undertaken he must perforce do it himself. No one acquainted with his character and traditions will be confident that he will speedily change his nature, and become either a hard-working trader or a capable agriculturist. In the case of the Negro the prospect is not much more hopeful. By nature he is indolent, and as little inclined as is the Arab to labour, provided that he can obtain sufficient food for himself and his family and sufficient pasture for his herds. Thanks to the bounteous rainfall and the fertile soil of the Soudan, both these factors are assured to him. His wants are simple, and his women-kind relieve him of all drudgery. So long as he can hunt and fish when the humour seizes him, and when not thus engaged bask in the sun, the black is contented, and feels no inclination to exert himself, even if by so doing he can better his condition. Money to him represents less than nothing, and to labour for the purpose of acquiring what possesses no value in his eyes is, in his opinion, a work of superfluous folly.

All these things are against the Soudan and its immediate return to prosperity.

In time, the pressure of population and the consequent struggle for life must, as in other countries, create the necessity for work. Such a state of things is not, however, to be anticipated for very many years, as the areas inhabited by the black races are so vast that it is difficult to foresee a time when they will be overpeopled. Constant contact with Europeans will doubtless eventually engender a desire for barter and a spirit of trade, even in the Negro. He will one day discover that he possesses products which represent a certain market value, and by the exchange or sale of which he can obtain the simple luxuries which he loves. For the present little can be done but to exercise patience and carefully foster any signs of a desire to trade. The people of all

races must learn to rely upon and have confidence in the justice of their British rulers. They must understand that whatever work they do for the latter will be fairly paid for, that their land and possessions are their own, and that there is no intention of dispossessing them. Simple sanitary measures tending to decrease mortality, easy taxation, and an extremely simple code of laws, will all materially assist in the restoration of the country. A system of elementary education, and technical schools in which the people can learn trades, will go far towards developing their intelligence and stimulating a desire to better their condition.

For many years to come it is to be feared that the Soudan expenditure will constitute a heavy annual burden upon the Egyptian exchequer. Money must be spent with little expectation of any immediate return. Even so it will not be money thrown away. Prosperity must one day return to the country, and sources of wealth at present unknown will be discovered. One of these, most probably, lies in the vast virgin forests which cover many thousands of square miles. Minerals may also exist within the boundaries of the Soudan. Gold is found in the beds of the tributary rivers of the Blue Nile, and is said to exist in several of the rocky hills in the southern portion of the Ghezireh. Iron ores are found in the Darfur mountains, but without coal it is difficult to see how this metal could be profitably worked. The valuable gum of commerce is met with throughout the immense areas lying east and west of the two great rivers, and this product will in all probability be, for some years to come, the chief export of the Soudan. As regards the trade in ivory, this must ere long be a thing of the past, unless effective measures be taken, as they undoubtedly ought to be, to preserve the elephant from extinction. Irrigation works will doubtless one day be undertaken, which will enable the country to cultivate cereals and other valuable crops upon an extended scale, and the developement of a railway system will permit of their exportation to the sea-coast. The great swamps of the 'sadd' region may one day be drained, and the river where it passes through them be confined in one single channel, thus largely increasing the summer supply of the White Nile.

Egypt will one day export her sugar, cotton goods, dates, and such grains as cannot be raised in the Soudan, perhaps receiving in exchange timber, india-rubber, gum, senna, and hides. The cultivation of tobacco, which at one time was general, may some day be reintroduced. Before very many

years have passed the Soudan should be able to support an economical civil administration from its own revenues. The military charges are a more difficult problem.

With the return of peace within her borders the necessity of a garrison, maintained upon a war footing, should ere long disappear. Levies, raised from the pick of the local fighting material and officered by English officers, should eventually replace the Egyptian regulars. Such material is plentiful. The blacks require no encomium on their soldierly qualities, and the fierce resistance offered by the Arab tribes to our troops proves that they too possess most of the qualities which go to make first-class fighting men. It seems probable that among the savage Baggara the best recruits will be obtained. Incredible as this statement may at present appear, it has been made advisedly. Wherever the Englishman has wandered and settled, he has invariably made use of the fiercest and most virile races subject to his control, and converted them into loyal and faithful followers. The Baggara is undoubtedly the most intelligent tribesman of the Soudan, and, in spite of his brutality and savagery, possesses many of the manly attributes required in a soldier. He has certainly proved his superiority to the other races by the manner in which he has mastered them for so many years. His very fierceness and fearlessness will in the end lead him to appreciate similar traits in the character of his masters. Treacherous he may be, and at times fanatical, but hardly more so than are the wild hillmen of the North-Western frontier of India. The race which has succeeded in making good soldiers out of the Pathan, the Afridi, and the Biluchi, is hardly likely to fail in attempting to do the same with the Baggara. It is, of course, essential that the British officers who shall endeavour to tame these savages shall possess special aptitudes for the task. Happily England has never been at a loss to produce an inexhaustible supply of such men. The prospect, then, if calmly reviewed, is not altogether a hopeless one. It is possible to look far ahead and see light on the horizon. Although prosperity cannot be anticipated in the immediate future, its eventual advent may be expected with a fair amount of confidence.

One last point. Few things strike the visitor to the Soudan more forcibly than the sight of the Union Jack and the Khedivial flag flying side by side over every Government building and fort in the Soudan. These two flags are mute witnesses that the land is held conjointly by England and by Egypt. The Convention of the current year proclaimed

to the world that the area conquered by the Anglo-Egyptian forces had been annexed in the names of Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness the Khedive. Such being the case, it would seem to be a logical sequence that the two countries should share equally in the cost of the administration. At present the whole burden is laid upon Egypt, and the money required for the Soudan comes out of the pockets of the Egyptian fellah. It can hardly be seriously intended by the British Government that such a state of things shall last. It is true that England contributed largely towards the cost of the late expedition, and to the reconquest of the provinces, once belonging to Egypt, which her weak hands could not hold. This is undeniable; but putting aside the question of whether this expedition was really undertaken in the interest of Egypt, or from motives of England's Imperial policy, the fact remains that the latter country has accepted the joint proprietorship of this land, and that her flag flies over it, even in its remotest localities. This being so, she cannot absolve herself of the responsibility which she has incurred, and cannot in honour refuse to assist Egypt in the matter of administering and restoring their joint possessions. What would be a comparatively small sum to a rich and great nation like England means a very serious item in the annual Budget of a small country like that of Egypt. Further, all sums spent by the latter upon the Soudan mean a reduction in useful improvements within her own natural limits. It is earnestly to be hoped that Great Britain will shortly acknowledge the liabilities which she has incurred by her own acts, and put an end to this anomaly.

Should she do so, and should she be as liberal in the expenditure of her money as she has been in the lives of her sons, she will be fulfilling her legitimate mission and continuing that policy by which she has won her place among the nations. She will be restoring prosperity to a land which, many centuries ago, was one of the richest and most fertile in the globe; a land which supported a dense population and created an empire, of which the traces to this day excite wonder and admiration. Even should she not be altogether successful in her task, she will have instituted a noble work, and one worthy of her great traditions; she will, moreover, have brought the blessings of her civilisation within touch of a not inconsiderable portion of

'The last, the greatest Empire,
The map which is half unrolled.'

- ART. II.—1. Perturbations of the Leonids.** By G. JOHNSTONE STONEY, F.R.S., and A. M. W. DOWNING, F.R.S. Paper read before the Royal Society, March 2, 1899.
2. *The Great Meteoric Shower of November.* By W. F. DENNING, F.R.A.S. London: 1898.
3. *General Catalogue of the Radiant Points of Fire Balls and Shooting Stars Observed at More than One Station.* By W. F. DENNING. ‘Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society,’ vol. liii. London: 1899.
4. *Sur les Orbites des Biélides.* Par TH. BRÉDIKHINE. ‘Bulletin de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg.’ Nouvelle Série, iii., xxxv., 1894.
5. *Sur l’Origine des Étoiles Filantes.* Par TH. BRÉDIKHINE, A.R.A.S. ‘Bulletin de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou,’ tome iii., 1890.

SHALL we, a few weeks hence, meet a tempest of falling stars? There is good reason to believe that we shall. The Leonid meteors are even now, in all probability, streaming across the earth’s track, at a point it is bound to reach in a month’s time. The Andromede meteors may arrive in force some days later. Thus a double event is on the cards, although the turning up of the second—which is entirely unconnected with the first—depends upon somewhat hazardous chances. A Leonid encounter, on the other hand, *seems* inevitable; yet even here we dare not add Hamlet’s ‘Nay, it is.’ There are qualifications to the sureness of the prediction. It does not stand on the same level with those to which astronomers absolutely commit themselves. Eclipses, occultations, and the like, can be trusted to come off to a second; the sun dips below the horizon, the ‘slender moon’ waxes round, in exact accordance with the prescriptions of the almanac; the planetary team is well under control; their satellites, too, are thoroughly broken in to the harness of calculation. But comets and meteor swarms are less tractable. They still roam the vast prairies of exterior space, nor always along beaten paths. Deflecting influences act upon them during their long wanderings, often to an unknown extent; and they consequently ‘revisit the glimpses of the moon’ at intervals irregular by comparison with those habitually dealt with by the compilers of national ephemerides.

They are, besides, structurally unstable, being subject to

many forms of change and disintegration. Their individuality is not of the strong planetary stamp. It is capable of indefinite multiplication and subdivision. Comets have been seen to split up by fission, abolishing themselves in their offspring, like amoebas; others to shed nebulous seed so freely that witches' brooms would have been needed to 'sweep the cobwebs out of the sky' where they had passed. Meteoric aggregations go to pieces on still slighter provocation. They are large and loose, to begin with, containing, perhaps, an ounce or two of solid matter per cubic mile; and their sparsely strewn components, held together by no sensible mutual attraction, pursue round the sun, each on its own account, orbits nearly but not quite identical in periods infinitesimally unequal. These small differences, however, steadily accumulate; the accelerated particles creep further and further to the front, the lagging particles drop continually behind, and the originally spherical agglomeration comes at last to be drawn out into a ring. But this is not all. There are exterior disturbances to be reckoned with. Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, the Earth, lie in wait along meteoric tracks, and compel deviations from them. And since the mode and efficacy of their action fluctuate as their positions alter, the occupants of successive segments of those tracks are very diversely affected, and tend to depart more and more from community of motion. Hence the dispersed swarm is likely to take the final shape, not of a simple hoop, but of an intertwined set of spires,* knotted and, as it were, elastic, unfixed in space, and yielding, now here, now there, to ever renewed gravitational strains. Computation, as can readily be imagined, is powerless to follow out completely the consequent intricate modifications; and for this reason our encounters with meteoric arrays remain subject to residual uncertainties. Surprise-showers are occasionally witnessed; anticipated displays fall short, or wholly fail.

The history of meteoric astronomy, up to the present century, was a mere chronicle of events that seemed inexplicable, and were often accounted prodigious. In the light of modern research they may be described as terrestrial collisions with cosmical bodies—collisions fortunately on a small scale, and deadened by the interposition of our atmospheric buffer; else incidents more tragic than a chance conflagration, or an ignorant panic, might have to be re-

* Schiaparelli, 'Le Stelle Cadenti,' p. 112 (1885).

counted. As it is, the meteorites get the worst of it. The vast majority are utterly consumed in the highest air strata, and, in the guise of shooting stars, announce almost at the same instant their existence and its close. Nothing remains but an imperceptible quantity of gas and dust. Not all, however, are thus fragile. A few of larger build reach the ground, generally as the fragmentary products of explosions due to the resistance of the air and the ensuing sudden developement of heat. 'Aerolites,' as these samples of other worlds are commonly called, bear every mark of rough usage. They are coated with melted slag, as if they had passed through a furnace; they are pitted, sometimes almost riddled by the furious onsets of the air-blasts they raise and meet. Yet so swift are their transits from ether to earth that the cold of space at times survives inside their roasted shells. As Agassiz said of the Dhurmsala meteorite, which fell in the Punjab on July 14, 1860, they realise the Chinese culinary ideal of 'fried ices.' These survivors of the middle passage are indeed of vanishing scarcity compared with the multitude that succumb. One in ten millions, at the most, escapes to tell the tale of its hardships. Daubrée estimated the annual number of stonefalls over the whole globe at from six to seven hundred, while in a single day more than twenty million shooting stars, of naked-eye brightness, perish self-consumed. Of telescopic meteors the name is legion, and each one becomes permanently incorporated with the earth's bulk. Yet the increment is relatively insignificant, and has never been considerable, if geological evidence speak truly. The extreme minuteness of bodies adequate only to create evanescent fire-streaks can hence be inferred.

Our meteoric assailants would, nevertheless, be formidable both by numbers and velocity but for the protective intervention of the air. Their devastations should render an unclothed earth, even if otherwise habitable, a highly inconvenient dwelling-place. For a single gramme of solid matter, travelling thirty miles a second—the average speed of encounter—would make a perforating implement of singular efficiency, and the Murranging meteorite, recently imported from Australia, weighs four tons. Nor does it rank among the very largest objects of its class. The warding off of these multitudinous projectiles is a secondary but most essential function of our atmosphere. It is exercised continuously by night and by day, and with conspicuous success during certain bombardments in form, when all the celestial batteries seem to open fire together.

Just one hundred years ago Humboldt, the 'champion' scientific traveller, and his botanical friend Bonpland, were sojourning at Cumana, the capital of New Andalusia. Debarred from sleep by oppressive heat, they were indemnified, in the early morning of November 12, by a sublime and amazing spectacle. During four hours the heavens were ploughed with fire. The furrows, running chiefly in a north and south direction, covered the whole sky with continually renewed phosphorescent gleams, left behind by thousands of meteors, ranging in brilliancy from delicate light-points to globes rivalling the magnitude of the full moon. Many burst like spent rockets, scattering sparks all round, yet no attendant sounds reached the ear, nor did any detached fragments touch the ground. 'The 'phenomenon was grand and awful,' wrote Mr. Ellicott, an astronomer, who witnessed it from on board a ship in the Gulf of Mexico; and incidental glimpses of it were caught as far to the north as Greenland; but no serious attempt was made to unravel its meaning; no moral was pointed by it.

Meteors were in those days all but universally held to be—as their name imports—of aerial production, *ignes fatui* of the sky. This opinion, however, owed its prevalence to inaccuracy of observation; it collapsed at the first touch of the Ithuriel-spear of reasoned method. Two students of the University of Göttingen, named Brandes and Benzenberg, were the first to apply it. Acting upon a suggestion from Ernst Chladni, of Wittenberg, they measured, in 1798, the heights of some few meteors by simultaneous determinations from distant stations; and their relegation of them, on demonstrative evidence, to the outskirts of the atmospheric fields, together with their ascription to them of planetary velocities, formed the nucleus of meteoric science. Yet it appeared to lack the principle of growth. Thought remained inert on the subject until stirred by the repetition, with enhanced splendour, and on a widely manifest stage, of the Cumana event.

Between midnight and dawn on November 13, 1833, close upon a quarter of a million of meteorites, many of them astonishingly large and lustrous, ran their course above the horizon of Boston. They fell like snowflakes, and they fell far and wide. From Florida to Nova Scotia, the earth was wrapped in a storm of fire. The heavens literally blazed for seven consecutive hours. In South Carolina the plantations resounded with the cries of the negroes as they lay, in abject terror, prostrate on the ground. Indeed, the scene

was awe-inspiring to the most stoical beholder." The "shooting" of the stars, according to one observer,* was at the rate of a thousand a minute. "Their coruscations," he added, "were bright, gleamy, and incessant. One was witnessed which left a path of light clearly discernible for more than ten minutes after the ball had exploded. Compared with the splendour of this celestial exhibition, the most brilliant rockets and fireworks of art bore less relation than the twinkling of the most tiny star to the broad glare of the sun."

This is certainly rather steep, considering that the disparity alluded to is of the order of many thousand millions to one; but hyperbolic phrases may be condoned in a description of what was undoubtedly the premier star-shower of history. "None were left," a Pennsylvanian farmer remarked next day to Professor Kirkwood; and he anticipated the sight, as darkness closed in, of a blank vault, disgarnished of its shining spangles by the devastating catastrophe of the night before.

Observers of a different calibre noticed that the meteors did not travel at random. Their paths rarely, if ever, intercrossed; all could be traced back to a common focus. The situation of this point in the Sickle of Leo led to the designation as 'Leonids' of the objects diverging from it. They were the first meteor family to be recognised and distinctively entitled; and their separation constituted in itself no trifling advance in knowledge, the bare fact of unanimity in movement implying a great deal as to their nature and origin. The 'radian'-to give the focal spot the name invented for it by Greg in 1865-was seen to be independent of terrestrial locality. Fixed among the stars, it rose with them above the horizon, and shared their diurnal motion. That is to say, it was left behind, like the stars themselves, not carried along by the earth's rotation. It represented, accordingly, a direction in space—the direction from which the meteors ran down to meet us. The Leonid radiant, in short, is the vanishing point of a congeries of parallel tracks, sections of circumsolar orbits which intersect that of the earth just where it happens to pass in the middle of November.

So much was learned directly from the meteors of 1833; and a great deal more came to be inferred. Documentary research brought out their periodical character. The display

* Quoted by Denning, 'The Observatory,' vol. xx. p. 128.

witnessed by Humboldt and Bonpland proved to be only one of a series recurring every thirty-three or thirty-four years. Records going back to A.D. 902 were disinterred by the late Professor Newton, of Yale College, and the prediction was hazarded that, on November 13-14, 1866, the spectacle of that original 'year of the stars' would be renewed. Its punctual verification is matter of history. The Leonids did not fail to keep their appointment; they fell abundantly, and were seen to advantage in most parts of Europe. An English watcher reckoned a hundred a minute at 3 A.M., and a single pair of eyes can take in about one-fifth of the entire. Multitudes were of the brightness of a first-magnitude star—Regulus, for instance, or Pollux—some rivalled Venus; nearly all left behind a phosphorescent greenish train; but none were on the scale of the grand bolides viewed with amazement in 1799 and 1833. There had been premonitory showers in 1864 and 1865; nor did the drift fairly exhaust itself until 1869. Similarly 1833 was only a maximum Leonid year; it had forerunners and followers; but, whether through an actual extension of the meteoric stratum during the present century, or through lack of observational data in past centuries, earlier accounts show no tendency to run into series.

'The three successive returns of the meteoric group in about 1799, 1833, and 1866,' Mr. Denning writes in the useful and timely pamphlet quoted at the head of this article, 'offered some distinctions. In the former case the display was apparently confined to one night and to one year only. This would appear to indicate that the group existed in much more condensed form in 1799 than at the subsequent returns, for it was seen during the nine consecutive years from 1831 to 1839, and during the six consecutive years from 1864 to 1869. But it would, perhaps, be unsafe to argue that it did not appear in 1798, 1800, and 1801, as it might escape record, though it could hardly elude observation somewhere or other. Still it is certainly curious that no descriptions of it in the years immediately contiguous to 1789 have been found among the historical records of the period. And it is perhaps still more strange that in about the years 1733 and 1766 our chronicles are silent as to the apparition of a meteor shower in the month of November. That it occurred in the years mentioned is highly probable. If the group formed, at the periods referred to, a far more compact one than at present, it might only exhibit itself in a single year, instead of during a series of years, as at the last two returns. It might also have passed the earth during daytime in the most civilised parts of the world, and this would increase the chances of its escaping record. There are some other impediments which would assist in obliterating it, such as moonlight and cloudy weather; but, even allowing for them all, it seems unlikely that brilliant

Showers of Leonids, if they really occurred, could entirely escape mention.

A tradition, indeed, although no distinct memory, of a star-spurt in 1766 lingered at Cumana at the time of Humboldt's visit; but it may have been trumped up by the 'oldest inhabitants' in order to lend celestial *éclat* to the indubitable earthquake of that year.

The date of the November meteors is continually retarded. In 902 they commemorated the death of Ibrahim-ibn-Ahmed on October 12 (o.s.); in 1898 they emerged tardily to notice on the morning of November 15. The delay is at the average rate of two days in seventy years. This means that the 'node,' or place of rendezvous, shifts annually forward over an arc just long enough to be traversed by the earth in forty minutes. Planetary perturbations are responsible for this systematic postponement; and its amount furnished the clue needed by mathematicians for the determination of the true Leonid orbit. There are several, differing widely in dimensions, and in the periods required for traversing them, which would suit the more obvious phenomena; there is only one compatible with the ascertained rapidity of the nodal advance along the ecliptic. The reason is easily understood. Jupiter is the main agent of disturbance in the solar system. Apart from his influence, Leonid chronology would alter only by insensible degrees. The marked character of its changes shows that the meteors come within striking distance of him as he revolves in his remote sphere. They must then thread an ellipse long enough to bridge the immense gap between his orbit and that of the earth. The test was applied in 1867 by Professor Adams in a masterly investigation, demonstrating the revolution of the November swarm in an orbit so large that thirty-three and a quarter years are needed for the completion of its circuit. Thus the current and inevitable expectation of encounters with it towards the close of the present century came to be hall-marked in the mint of exact knowledge.

The Leonids are only one among a multitude of similar associations. A flight emanating from the constellation Perseus has been remarked long enough to get linked, by a popular phrase, with the fiery martyrdom of St. Lawrence. They circulate with a periodic time of about 120-years, in a fast orbit, over the entire circumference of which they are loosely scattered. No sections of it are inordinately crowded; none are vacant; although some are so much more richly

stocked than others that the ‘horary number’ of Perseids fluctuates, from year to year, between twenty and two hundred. Each August, however, brings them as regularly as it brings grouse-shooting, while there are good and bad seasons no less for the meteors than for the birds.

A meteoric train, known as ‘Orionids,’ because of the situation of their radiant in the Club of the kneeling Giant, make unfailing, but numerically feeble, incursions into our October skies. The main army, to which these stragglers once belonged, has never, within human memory, marched past the saluting-point, and has almost certainly been disbanded.

‘A regular annual display, without periodical outbursts,’ is defined by Mr. Denning as ‘the prevailing feature of the great majority of meteoric systems. Undoubtedly,’ he adds, ‘a proportion of the known streams have definite periods of recurring activity; but observation has not yet succeeded in determining many such showers.’

One of the kind indicated may be the ‘Lyrids,’ seen first in time about April 20, and in space near the brilliant star Vega. Their apparitions are invariable, though, as a rule, feeble. But they have been, in the past, of most capricious intensity. Ten probable ancient outbursts were enumerated by Professor Newton;† and possible notices of sundry others have been extracted from mediæval chronicles by way of aftermath to his harvest.‡ During the present century the Lyrid stream has been swollen with repeated freshets;§ it has, however, since 1864 become—to quote Professor Herschel—‘very inconspicuous, and much mixed and diversified, apparently with companion or branch streams.’ Perplexing variations in the position of its focal point have ensued. Thus it is well characterised by him as ‘an irregular and scanty system.’ Mr. Denning’s surmise that its maxima might prove to be periodical in forty-seven years was negatived by the poverty of the show in April 1897.

Quite recent, comparatively, is the meteoric aggregation of the Andromedes. Astronomers might almost say, with Edie Ochiltree of Monk barns’s *Prætorium*, ‘We mind the bigging o’t.’ And a singular process it was. For the

* *Popular Astronomy*, vol. i. p. 151.

† *American Journal of Science*, vol. xxxvi. p. 145 (1863).

‡ W. E. Besley, ‘*The Observatory*,’ vol. xxii. p. 154; S. J. Johnson, *ibid.* p. 235.

§ Denning, ‘*Monthly Notices*,’ vol. lix. p. 393.

materials were obviously furnished by the break-up of a comet. This was a paltry-looking object named after Wilhelm von Biela, who established, in 1826, the fact of its return to the sun once in six and a half years. It is now known to be one of those 'short-period comets' domesticated in the solar system through the reiterated attractive pulls of Jupiter. His opportunities for exercising them must at first have been few and far between, so that the completeness of the capture argues a lapse of time indefinitely great since Biela's original entrance within the planetary precincts. Presumably it was one of the oldest of the sun's cometary clients, and, as a consequence, one of the most dilapidated. Already in 1826 it had reached an advanced stage of senile decay. Yet it held together until 1845, when surprised telescopic observers saw it in duplicate! A pair of Siamese-twin comets, united by a delicate ligament of faint light, marched side by side over the sky; and they survived to effect one more perihelion passage in 1852. But this was apparently the last. In cometary shape neither one nor the other could ever afterwards be detected. In their stead vivid star-bursts were witnessed in 1872, 1885, and 1892. The substitution strikingly illustrates the intimate meteoric relations of comets, yet may have been less direct than the bare circumstantial sequence implies. Thus the theoretical place of the comet was a long way in advance of the node when the earth arrived there on November 27, 1872; and it was still further behind it at the next ensuing shower, on the thirteenth anniversary of that day. Only the wreckage of the comet, accordingly, not the comet itself, was encountered; but the wreckage was strewn over an extent of at least five hundred million miles. A remarkable change then supervened. The node suddenly started backward to meet the oncoming earth, and the epoch of passage through it was anticipated by four days. The meteors expected on the 27th arrived on November 23, 1892. They were visible almost exclusively in America. 'On the average,' Professor W. J. Hussey* wrote from Palo Alto, in California, 'a single observer could see from fifty to sixty fairly bright ones every five minutes, which corresponds to a daily rate of from four hundred to five hundred millions on the hemisphere of the earth towards the radiant.' And Professor Young reckoned that in five hours at least thirty thousand traversed the skies of Princeton, New Jersey. Their

* *Astronomy and Astrophysics*, vol. xi. p. 944.

premature advent was attributable, as a matter of course, to the action of Jupiter; but it took every one by surprise except M. Berberich, and he published his forecast in a quarter where it was little likely to excite attention.* After the event, however, M. Brédikhine demonstrated that it was bound to happen as it did.† Indeed, displacements of the Bielid orbit are no abnormal events, but make part of an irreversible course of change, the intermissions and resumptions of which depend upon fluctuating planetary configurations. Some bewilderment might, on a superficial view, be occasioned by its contrary character to the movement of the Leonid node, both processes being nevertheless due to precisely the same class of influences. In the former case there is a retreat of the line where the orbits cut, with a corresponding acceleration of the meteoric shower; in the latter the node advances and the star-fall is delayed. The cause of the difference, however, is not far to seek. It lies in the oppositely directed flow of the two streams. The Leonids are retrograde travellers; they run counter to the grand sweep of planetary movement; while the Andromedes follow the west-to-easterly current. Hence the opposite effects upon them of similar disturbances. Another and a more manifest distinction directly results. Retrograde meteors rush to meet the earth; their collisions with it are nearly end-on. They occur with a velocity representing approximately the sum of the elliptic speed of the earth and the (virtually) parabolic speed of the meteors. This, for the Leonids, amounts to forty-four miles a second, being within a mile of the greatest possible. They bear the stamp of this tremendous pace. The abundant supply of heat derived from its arrest by the air consumes them with extreme rapidity. Their brief incandescence is peculiarly vivid; and the shimmering trains which they leave behind sometimes persist long after the originating bodies have vanished. Scarcely any, it is probable, approach within less than forty or fifty miles of our globe's surface, and none have been known to fall. They are 'crumpled up' aloft by the destructive resistance which their vehement onsets evoke.

The Andromedes, on the other hand, come from behind. They overtake us as we fly before them, and penetrate the atmosphere with a differential speed of ten miles a second. Their aspect is to correspond. They look slow and dull;

* *Naturwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, November 5, 1892.

† *Astr. Nach.* No. 3156.

and are followed, not by continuous trains, but by retinues of evanescent sparks. A practised observer can thus distinguish an Andromede from a Leonid meteor at a glance, apart from any reference to lines of movement. And already stray specimens of both species viewed now and then simultaneously betoken the fuller concurrence to be expected hereafter.

Biela's is not the only comet with meteoric appurtenances ; there are Leonid, Perseid, and Lyrid comets as well. The connexion has, in each case, been established by the close agreement of the respective orbits ; and it can hardly be regarded as exceptional. Whether it be universal is another and a very obscure question. The enormous majority of cometary tracks run *clear* of the earth's orbit ; but, unless they intersect it, we have no access to information as to the débris with which they may, or may not, be strewn ; for the particles of which it consists become perceptible only through the kindling of their funeral pyres. Outside of their aerial burying-place they elude notice, direct or indirect. It is true that of the thousands of meteoric families individually recognised four only possess assured cometic affinities. Yet it has to be borne in mind that the proofs of such affinities are of a perishable nature. The transmutation of a comet into a meteor swarm, once effected, cannot be demonstrated ever to have taken place. How rapidly its evidence becomes effaced is shown palpably by the unique example of the Andromedes. We know as a matter of history that they had a parent comet ; yet it no longer exists. Under the very eyes of nineteenth-century astronomers it met the doom anticipated by Newton for all such bodies : 'Diffundi tandem et spargi per cœlos universos.' And what has visibly befallen Biela may—nay, must

'In the dark backward and abysm of time,'

have befallen a host of its congeners. Hence we can infer nothing from the actual absence of a comet-member from any given meteoric group. We are only certain that the more antique its formation the less likely is the primitive mass to survive in its integrity.

The Perseid comet, nevertheless—discovered by Tuttle at Cambridge, U.S., August 18, 1862—was a fairly conspicuous object as it swept past the sun thirty-seven years ago. Yet its pulverulent refuse has virtually closed up into a ring ; and untold ages must have been needed for effecting so prodigious an amount of diffusion. 'The facts,' in the

late Professor Kirkwood's words,* 'point to an indefinite antiquity of the cometic and meteoric clusters, to a slow change in the relative positions of the principal parts, and to a more considerable disturbance of more limited sections.' Those adjacent to the comet do not seem to be especially crowded. The Perseids of 1862, its immediate forerunners, came, as usual, rather in a trickle than as a shower.

The comet of the November meteors takes a very low spectacular rank. It bears, indeed, all the marks of effete-ness. Detected by Tempel late in 1865, it reached perihelion on January 11, 1866, at nearly the earth's distance from the sun, and was computed to have a period of thirty-three years and two months, but with so wide a margin of outstanding uncertainty that its non-appearance in the spring of the present year did not take celestial sentinels quite by surprise. The possibility, too, was contemplated † of its slipping by unperceived, owing to the highly unfavourable circumstances of its prescribed course. Whether it was miscalculated, or has been delayed, or has evaded the watch kept for it, remains to be proved. Meanwhile its absence cannot but be deplored, since it was an object no less interesting chemically, than mechanically and physi-ally. Sir William Huggins found its light in 1866 to be of a quality shared with but one other known comet. It was concentrated in a solitary green ray, seemingly identical with the chief line of the nebular spectrum. Of the carbon bands normal in comets there was not a vestige; 'nebulum' was the sole ingredient that made a spectroscopic show. This exotic substance is none the less unknown in meteoritic chemistry. Its distinctive radiation has never yet been elicited in the laboratory. The 'unearthing' of nebulum may yet be accomplished, but it is more desirable than probable.

A Leonid aerolite, were such a thing obtainable, would offer the most promising material for analysis with this end in view ; but, as we have already said, the Leonid radiant discharges no tangible missiles. The Perseid artillery is equally harmless, and, as a rule, with a very few possible and no proved exceptions, star showers are wholly of the 'flash-in-the-pan' order. The alleged exceptions are these two. First, during the memorable Lyrid display of 1095, when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, 'stars were seen

* *Astronomy and Astrophysics*, vol. xii. p. 790.

† Berberich, 'Astr. Nach.', No. 3526,

' falling from heaven in manifold ways for nearly the whole of the night, not one or two at a time, but so thickly that no man could count them,' one plunged into the ground somewhere in France, presumably at Gemblours, since one Siegeber of Gemblours is the authority quoted for the statement; and a bystander, having noted the spot, ' cast water upon it, which was raised in steam with a great noise of boiling.'* The story sounds apocryphal. The resourceful rustic, the douche in the dark, the responsive effervescence, have the air of fiction. Surely the captor of the extinct ' star' would have dug it up to see what it was made of, in which case some tradition of its preservation ought to have lingered and been transmitted. More whimsical narratives, however, have often been in part verified, and the interests of truth are compromised as much by scepticism as by credulity. But, even if the aerolite did indeed fall *during* the shower, it may not have *belonged* to the shower. Upwards of fifty radiants, according to Mr. Denning, are active each night in every year, and the Gemblours stone might have proceeded from any one of them. Its connexion with the Lyrids was perhaps apparent only, an ostensible relationship created by the chance coincidence of their simultaneous arrival.

The same objection applies to the second example of the kind. Here, indeed, there is no question of fact. The Andromede tempest of November 27, 1885, was still trailing its skirts over the earth when a ranchman at Mazapil, in Mexico, witnessed the descent from the sky of a body some eight pounds in weight. It proved to be composed of nickeliferous iron, and specimens from the Mazapil meteorite have been freely disseminated and examined with all conceivable care. Popularly supposed to have made part of Biela's comet, they are looked upon with especial interest. Nothing, however, is really known about their origin in the absence of any indication as to the sky-point whence the aerolite issued. Its title to be called an Andromede is dubious, and must always remain so.

Gregarious meteors differ, then, from sporadic meteors, either in average mass or in the nature of their materials. Probably the latter is the essential point of diversity. The incoherent stuff of which they are likely to be composed crumbles at once before the resistance of the air, and thus

* Sir Francis Palgrave, 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. cxxx.
p. 175,

becomes a ready prey to the heat developed by rapid motion ; there is nothing left for gravity to act upon. Highly symptomatic, besides, is the silence of their explosions. They go to pieces visually, not audibly. Detonating meteors, such as that which burst over Madrid on February 10, 1896, travel apart from swarms.* The unproductiveness of the latter is of remarkable significance, and may safely be brought into correlation with the dumbness of their onrushes. These features lend to meteoric displays an almost unearthly character. Audible or material outcome there is none from the fast-coming flakes of fire ; the empyrean 'strews its 'lights below ;' the spectacle seems more a vision than a reality.

The conditions favouring sky-falls are large mass and small velocity. The faster the invading bodies travel the less their chance of touching the ground. No dash or hurry avails for the attainment of the goal. The results justify the proverb, 'Fair and softly goes far in a day.' The reason is this : heat developed by motion increases as the *square* of the speed. A doubled rate of advance implies a fourfold accession of temperature ; triple velocity, a nine-fold thermal increment, and so on. The destructive intensity of the conflagration, thus augmenting by a duplicate proportion, greatly outweighs the advantage of passing quickly through it. Solitary meteors, however, are not, in general, more leisurely travellers than meteors in flocks. Rather the reverse. The majority pursue hyperbolic paths, with velocities beyond the solar power to control. That is to say, they are deflected from their rectilinear course by the sun's gravity, but not permanently subjugated. They effect their escape—untoward accidents apart—back to space. Accidents of attraction, and accidents of encounter, are mainly those to which the runaways are liable. Some, through planetary capture, are reduced from the status of hyperbolic 'plungers' to the ranks of mere elliptical plodders. And it is these chiefly—as Professor Newton first pointed out—which stock the shelves of our museums. They are apt to fall just because they have been deprived of a portion of their original movement. Others, which retain it undiminished, do indeed get entangled in the meshes of our atmo-

* Schiaparelli, indeed ('Memorie dell' Istituto Lombardo,' t. xii. p. 148), speaks of detonating November meteors, but these are unlikely to have been true Leonids. Mere coincidences of date are eminently misleading in questions of meteoric identification.

spheric net, and there is, speaking generally, no breaking loose from them; but they are demolished, *cæteris paribus*, at an earlier stage of their careers than their more tardy brethren, and hence produce relatively few aerolites.

We have said enough to show that the barrenness of meteoric showers cannot be attributed to their swiftness; aerolites, in fact, taken all round, are animated by more rapid motions. It must, then, depend upon the fragility of their materials. There seems no alternative to the inference that substantial bodies, of many tons' weight, are essentially solitary wayfarers. Confirmatory spectroscopic evidence of chemical diversities between them and swarming 'stars' may eventually be forthcoming, but the subject has still to be prosecuted.

The distinction is emphasised by indications, not to be mistaken, of a divergent origin. Hyperbolic meteors cannot proceed from comets. The nature of their orbits proves them to be thorough-paced vagrants, owning no allegiance to sun or star, and running into our system as blindly as migrating birds dash against lighthouses. But comets are true clients of the sun, although belonging, so to speak, to the exterior department of his household organisation; they accompany his interstellar journey, and move round him in elongated ellipses: in ellipses, however, not--unless through the effects of chance disturbance--in hyperbolæ. And the closing of the path marks all the difference between habitual resort and adventitious arrival.

To recapitulate: Meteors may be divided into those that have, and those that have not, primitively made part of comets. The second class, being of more solid structure, are virtually the exclusive source of stonefalls; and they yield them with added facility when their rate of going has been curtailed by planetary pulls. This is not, indeed, a condition *sine qua non*; hyperbolic aerolites from time to time present themselves; but they need to be of very considerable mass to pass unconsumed through the furnace thrice heated by the arrest of their enormous velocities. It must be remembered that the specimens collected usually represent only a small part of the original body. They result from shattering explosions, the products of which are dispersed far and wide. Thus fragments of the Madrid meteorite fell near Cadiz; and such wreckage is sometimes abundantly spread over regions many square miles in extent.

Meteoric streams, on the other hand, undoubtedly result from cometary decay. As to the mode of their generation

we are unluckily ignorant; for the theory propounded ten years ago by M. Brédikhine, the eminent Russian astronomer, of their expulsion towards the sun in the guise of 'anomalous tails,' is scarcely convincing. They must have entered our system as a single mass with the parent comet; otherwise the observed orbital unanimity could not exist; and their capture once effected, the process of their diffusion doubtless set in forthwith. It was quickened by the unequal attractions of the sun and planets, and went on without let or hindrance. The associated meteors that come within our cognisance do not constitute genuine swarms. No inner ties unite them; none are in mutual revolution. They pursue a common route, yet quite irrespectively one of the other. Each Leonid, each Perseid, revolves on its own account, dynamically alone, and is gradually getting further and further separated from its companions. The law of development of their relations is one of disaggregation.

We have applied the term 'sporadic' to certain meteors, so far, without qualification; modern observations, nevertheless, hint at a *caveat* regarding it. As they accumulate, the probability augments that bodies strictly so describable are not to be found. Association, however distant, is coming to be established as prevalent. The point from which one meteoric apparition, insignificant or conspicuous, has emanated frequently proves, if long and carefully watched, to be the source of others. The phenomenon of radiation, in a word, is much more general than had been supposed. Mr. Denning, in a paper the title of which appears at the head of this article, enumerates 4,367 radiants, determined from about 120,000 recorded tracks; and none of these are situated further to the south than twenty degrees from the celestial equator. The profusion of foci might indeed, at first sight, appear to involve a begging of the question at issue. No possible meteor, it may be argued, can avoid passing near enough to some one of the 4,367 points of convergence to be plausibly connected with it, especially when the somewhat wide limits of observational error are taken into consideration. The objection, however, loses much of its force on a more attentive scrutiny of the facts. The care used in their amassment, far from effacing their significance, places in a clearer light the concentrative tendency of solitary-seeming fire-balls, bolides, and shooting stars. Even those endowed with hyperbolic velocities not uncommonly follow one another in Indian file, so as to arrive successively, year by year, from an identical direction.

in space.* This implies, of course, a stream always flowing, although met by the earth only at annual intervals; and it must have a source, not being 'regenerative,' like the Leonid and Perseid flows. For the component droplets of these, since they move in oval rings, come round and round continually; while the law of hyperbolic travelling is 'Vestigia nulla retrorsum.' Radians, it is true, may prove exhaustible. Certain meteoric currents possibly resemble rivers without well-heads. They will perhaps run dry in a comparatively short time. The poet's 'Labetur in omne 'volubilis ævum' may not fit their case. An 'expectant 'rustic' may, after all, see the end of them. Their future depends upon the nature of their origin. Was it catastrophic, or did it fall in with the regular order of things? It is impossible to decide, and scarcely allowable at present to conjecture. In speculation, however, no less than in practice, 'Zeit bringt Rath.'

The same consolatory maxim is appropriate in other perplexities regarding meteoric radians, above all in attempts to expound the distinction between the 'stationary' and the 'shifting' kinds. The Perseid focus exemplifies the latter. It advances among the stars with the earth's progress in its orbit. It behaves, that is to say, normally, since its apparent place on the sphere results from a combination of the meteoric and the terrestrial movements at each given instant. And the stream being very diffuse, the earth does not get wholly clear of it for some weeks, during which time the angle of direction of its motion wheels through nearly thirty degrees. The lie of the Perseid paths ought then to vary in correspondence with this considerable change; and it does. There is here no anomaly. But in other cases theory and fact are at daggers drawn. Certain radians continue fixed, not merely night after night, but for weeks and even months. They exempt themselves absolutely from the ordinary law of aberration. The well known Orionid centre, to take one of many similar instances, preserves entire rigidity during the twenty-one nights of its activity (October 9 to 29).† Here, and quite as conspicuously elsewhere, geometrical necessity seems to be set at naught. Mr. Denning, the discoverer of this strange peculiarity, has taken the judicious course of leaving it unexplained.

Meantime we cannot avoid asking ourselves the crucial

* Niessl, 'Wochenschrift für Astronomie,' Bd. xx. pp. 216, 277.

† Denning, 'Popular Astronomy,' vol. i. pp. 210, 269.

question, 'What are meteorites? Whence do they come? ' What is their history, what their destiny?' Scraps of adventitious mineral that, after whole Odysseys of adventure, have come to rest within the shelter of a glass case, they can, like the flower 'plucked out of the crannies,' be 'held in the hand; ' they can be examined, analysed, compared. Nor is there any scarcity of workable material; the Paris Natural History Museum alone contains specimens of 463 distinct falls; yet the mystery enveloping them has not been dissipated.

Between thirty and forty of our home-bred elements, and no foreign substances, enter into their composition. But the modes of combination of these elements present novelties. In other words, meteoric chemistry is familiar, meteoric mineralogy strange to our experience.

Meteorites separate of themselves into two classes--'siderites,' which are virtually blocks of native iron; and 'uranoliths,' or 'sky stones.' Intermediate or 'siderolithic' varieties consist of an amalgam of metal and stone. Siderites contain notable proportions of nickel and cobalt, and a small percentage of the rare metal gallium.* They differ, accordingly, in the most marked way from ordinary telluric iron, yet are deceptively imitated by some infrequent volcanic ejecta, such as those met with by Nordenskiöld at Ovifak, in Greenland. Subterranean stores of material indistinguishable from theirs may then exist.

Cosmic stones, too, bear a strong eruptive stamp. The more profound, indeed, the source of subterranean products, the closer is their similarity to extra-terrestrial masses. Basaltic lavas, serpentines, volcanic bombs, present striking analogies to them; † yet in the main features of their structure meteoric minerals stand quite apart. They are mostly 'chondritic' or 'brecciated'—that is, compacted of spherules embedded in their own débris, or of miscellaneous splinters and shards. Their purely igneous origin, inferred by Dr. Sorby in 1858, from a study of their microscopic glassy 'inclusions,' was confirmed by M. Daubrée in 1866; while a recent authority, M. Cohen, concludes them to result from hurried crystallisation, attended by rapid changes of temperature.‡ Complex processes are certainly

* Hartley and Ramage, 'Astrophysical Journal,' vol. ix. p. 227.

† Daubrée, 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' December 15, 1885, p. 904; Stanislas Meunier, 'La Géologie Comparée,' pp. 91, 92; Vaughan Cornish, 'Knowledge,' vol. xiv. p. 165.

‡ Meteoritenkunde, Hest 1, p. 329.

indicated, carried on at high temperatures and, in many cases, under strong pressure. The rending effects of explosions or eruptions may have been superadded, besides those of a kind of hammer-and-anvil play between gaseous blasts and imprisoning rock-walls. Manifold traces of urgent violence are legible.

The 'occlusion' of gases in meteorites forms in itself a curious and interesting branch of research. Many appear to have been formed in an atmosphere of compressed hydrogen, of which they have absorbed otherwise unaccountable quantities. Carbonic acid, carbonic oxide, nitrogen, and—in minute proportions—argon and helium are also driven off by heat from sundry specimens. Professor Ramsay's detection of argon in the 'Augusta County' siderite gave a hint of the universal diffusion of the new gas. But all his efforts failed to induce reabsorption. The emancipated genius in the 'Arabian Nights' was not more successfully recalcitrant; and the Professor could only surmise 'the condition of retention' to be a heating to fusion of the iron in an atmosphere of hydrocarbons, followed by sudden cooling. It might, he imagined, have been coupled with in the case of ejection 'from some stellar body 'at a high temperature.'*

Aerolites are certainly not of the *teres atque rotundus* order. Initially they doubtless formed part of comparatively huge masses, of which they are the refuse or the remnants. Now theories of expulsion encounter one fatal objection. They assume enormous volcanic activities, such as can only, and with difficulty, be conceived to prevail in *young* worlds. But young worlds possess dense atmospheres; and, if our own is an almost perfect shield against projectiles aided by gravity, we can fancy how ineffectual for its penetration would be bombs launched in defiance of gravity. We may, then, rest assured that no body resembling the earth ever discharged into space any portion of its solid contents.

The alternative view is that meteorites are the very dust of cosmic decay, mementoes of world-mortality, proclaiming the *sic transit* of the 'pale populace of heaven.' As globes cool and harden they cease to be plastic; and at last, instead of yielding to strains, they are rent by them. The fissures in the moon, due possibly to this

* *Nature*, July 1, 1895.

cause, are held,* with good show of reason, to betoken incipient disruption. A fractured sphere, however, will not permanently continue to revolve and rotate as one mass. It must finally go to pieces, and strew its orbit with ruins. The subject is obscure; but we welcome the gleam of an illustration on the darkness of meteoric origins, and such a gleam appears to be supplied by the actual state of our satellite. Effete suns perhaps meet the same fate; and the plunge through our air of a barrow-load of blackened stones may, for aught we can tell, announce the perishing of some once glorious orb. The meteoritic stage is defined by M. Stanislas Meunier as 'the 'last term of astral metamorphosis'; † and he adds that it reveals to us the mechanism by which the substance of dead globes is reincorporated with those still in organic relations with their environment. There can, for instance, be no doubt that the wan ing atmospheric stock of carbon is reinforced by meteoric infalls, the extinction of life through its expenditure being thereby postponed or averted; while the oxygen that they bring, although in less immediate demand, is also, so far as it goes, a desirable contribution to the resources of a city in space devoid of any other commissariat arrangements.

The meteoric displays anticipated for last November severely disappointed expectation. Some Leonids appeared; next to no Andromedae. A lacuna in the distribution of the latter chanced to coincide with the earth's passage of the node. We crossed the stream, so to speak, dry-shod. The vanished comet was due there about April 23, 1899; hence the earth led by five months; and it will be seven months in the rear when the point of orbital intersection is reached next month. A dense shower can thus hardly be looked for; yet stragglers in considerable numbers are likely to cross our path. No further chance of a meeting will occur until 1904 or 1905, and meantime its epoch will have advanced to November 17, under compulsion exerted by Jupiter in 1901.‡ The two great meteoric tribes of November will then have become almost synchronous in their displays.

The earth needs only a few hours to cut its way through the main body of the Leonids; but rovers, formerly diverted from it by the attraction either of our own or of some other

* Meunier, 'Encycl. Chimique,' t. ii. p. 420.

† Comptes Rendus, t. cv. p. 1038.

‡ Abemann, 'Astr. Nach.' No. 8516.

planet, fit more or less numerously across the skies during at least ten days—say, from November 10 to 20. They travel hundreds, if not thousands, of miles apart, while the space-allowance for their most closely packed associates is ten to twenty cubic miles. Their distribution, however, is marked by striking inequalities, *volleys* from the radiant alternating with pauses in meteoric musketry practice. Platoon firing is often suggested. *

The transversal section of the array is, however, insignificant compared with its longitudinal extent. The procession across the node occupies fully three years. It does not cease when we no longer perceive it. Month after month, during the long absence of our wheeling globe, it continues uninterruptedly; on our annual return to the trysting-place we find it still in progress; the end comes only after a train some two thousand millions of miles in length has passed by. Hence the consecutive showers of the thirties and sixties; and hence the full persuasion of astronomers that the Leonid season, which has recently set in, will see the present century out, and finish in the next. The years 1899, 1900, and 1901 may, in short, be safely counted upon for profuse November falls.

According to Dr. Johnstone Stoney, whose researches into the dynamics of the system have extended over many decades, the van of the ‘ortho-Leonids,’ as he calls the regularly marshalled battalions of the rushing multitude, came upon the earth in the early morning of November 15 last. The most successful and the only significant observations were made in America. At Harvard College Observatory 800 meteors were registered, the maximum occurring at 3 A.M. Professor Barnard, favoured at the Yerkes establishment by the timely clearing of a sullen sky, described those seen by him as ‘all white, with very ‘rapid motions, leaving beautiful greenish or bluish streaks, ‘which persisted for a large fraction of a second.’ They ‘came in spurts,’ but none appeared to explode, and only one approximated to the brilliancy of Venus.

The shower was indeed nowhere of imposing effectiveness; yet its records are of eminent scientific interest; and chiefly on this account, that, through its means, meteoric photography was at last raised to its proper place in astronomy, and has definitively entered upon a career of incalculable possibilities. At Harvard College the radiant was determined by prolonging backwards the trails left on the plates by four meteors. Dr. Elkin, of Yale, derived a Leonid orbit

from autographic data; and for one meteor, caught in duplicate at a co-operating station, determined heights respectively of apparition and disappearance of 69 and 61 miles.* Professor Pickering, the energetic Harvard chief, noticed, moreover, sudden explosive changes in some of the imprinted light tracks, and the envelopement of others in a luminous sheath. He might well claim for his results that they proved the efficiency of the camera in meteoric investigations. These already, by their means, stand on a higher level than could previously have been assigned to them, and their progress need no longer be hampered by the vagueness of eye estimations. Data, both permanent and precise, can now be accumulated, and will serve as the basis of conclusions, few in number perhaps, but no longer hesitating and inconclusive.

An important accession to knowledge in this direction seems, accordingly, to be at hand; and we shall probably find our ideas on many kindred topics simultaneously enlarged and illuminated. Much, however, will depend upon the issue of the manifold preparations for coming meteoric events. The fundamental condition for success is the due arrival of the swarm. 'First catch your hare,' as Mrs. Glasse did *not* say. Then there is weather to be reckoned with; not too hopefully, but for the prospect, recently opened, of getting above the clouds. This an aeronautic party from Meudon perfectly succeeded in accomplishing last November, although on the wrong night. The serene sky under which they found themselves at an elevation of five hundred feet, was virtually blank of meteors. This year numerous and completely organised balloon ascents have been planned in view of the probability of overcast skies, which may thus be rendered comparatively innocuous. Finally, the 'wandering moon,' 'riding near her highest noon,' must inevitably efface the less conspicuous elements of the display. The sensitive plate, it is true, comes to the rescue, yet, for the present, tentatively. Moonlight photography is an art in itself, and it has few adepts. The most distinguished is Professor Barnard. He can manipulate his plates so as to avoid 'fogging,' while sacrificing no material part of the effects due to carefully timed exposures. We may hope that he and others will

* The feat was anticipated by Professors Schaeberle and Colton at Lick, November 14, 1896 ('Popular Astronomy,' September 1897, p. 282).

succeed in rescuing the coming Leonids from lunar submergence. Their scenic beauty, indeed, cannot but be marred ; but this may be borne with equanimity, if only the scientific situation be saved. Here in England, especially, the outlook for a celestial 'sensation' is discouraging. It should be at its best, if calculations are verified, about noon, Greenwich time, on November 15 ; so that the sun and moon will conspire to exclude us from the spectacle, which may be additionally cloaked by an unwelcome canopy of clouds.

- ART. III.—1. Report of Lord Rothschild's Committee on Old Age Pensions.** (C. 8911 of 1898.)
2. *Report of the Select Committee on the Aged Deserving Poor.* (C. 296 of 1899.)
 3. *Report of the Select Committee on the Cottage Homes Bill.* (C. 261 of 1899.)
 4. *Provision for Old Age by Government Action in certain European Countries. Report by Labour Department of the Board of Trade,* 1899.

UNDER the modern manufacturing system most of those engaged in hand labour are as useful soon after twenty as they ever will be, and their strength is quickly spent. In the lawyer's trade, or the doctor's, or banker's, or merchant's, the wary instinct acquired by experience counterbalances up to an advanced age the inevitable loss of energy, but this is so in few of the modern manual occupations. Skill and moral perseverance are supplied, in large industries, by the machine; the workmen need only possess those gifts of youth, physical strength and quick agility. In many occupations a labourer finds it increasingly difficult to obtain a new place after he is fifty, and his savings may be spent long before he has bridged the interval between cessation of employment and departure from this sad abode of earth. Hence, in all countries covered by the modern 'Western civilisation' the question of public provision for old age of the poor has assumed much social and political importance.

An interesting report recently published by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade shows that, out of eleven European countries with which it deals, only two, Germany and Denmark, can be said to have adopted a general system of pensions or relief in old age. Under the German system of compulsory insurance against old age or invalidity, established in 1889, over 400,000 persons, in 1897, drew pensions amounting to 2,750,000*l.*, of which over a million was contributed by the State, the rest being derived in equal shares from deductions from wages and payments by employers. Thus the average pension is at present about 7*l.* a year, or about 2*s.* 8*d.* a week. The system appears to be cumbrous, and, even in hierarchical Germany, is certainly expensive to administer, and is said not to give much satisfaction to those for whose benefit it is designed. It has not fulfilled

its author's hopes by checking the advance of Socialism. The Danish system is, the Board of Trade Report points out, rather a 'special form of old-age relief to necessitous persons 'of good character.' The amounts given are small and varying, and are awarded on the principle of supplementing the recipient's other means so as just to enable him to live. As the Select Committee presided over by Mr. Chaplin say, 'it is difficult to see what substantial difference there is, in practice, between the pensions in Denmark and the out-relief given in this country to the deserving poor, except that in Denmark such relief can be claimed as a matter of right, and conveys no civil disqualifications.' Outside Europe a true old-age pension system, upon a very generous scale, has been established by the colony of New Zealand, but this recent experiment has not yet been tested by time.

In Holland a Royal Commission reported in 1895 in favour of a scheme of compulsory insurance after the German model, but no legislation has yet taken place. In Sweden there have been similar attempts, not yet successful, to follow the German example. In France, compulsory provision for old age exists in the case of seamen and miners. Otherwise the line of action favoured by the French, who have feared too much the logic of Socialism ever to embark upon a Poor Law, has been that of placing a bonus upon savings. This is effected through a 'Caisse nationale des retraites pour la vieillesse.' The Caisse itself is quite an old institution, but, under a law of 1895, persons of seventy years and upwards who have paid contributions to the Caisse, or subscribed to an approved friendly society, having a pension fund, for a specified number of years, are entitled to a State-given increment to their pensions. The whole pension, with this addition, must not, however, exceed 14*l.* 8*s.*, and the increment must not exceed a fifth of the pension. As yet this system has a very small operation. In another country no less distinguished for an inveterate spirit of thrift—Belgium—a similar 'Caisse de retraite' has been established, and, though no bonus is given as in France, the acquisition of superannuation annuities is greatly encouraged and widely taught. In Italy there is a State-aided 'National Pension Fund' to meet contributions of workpeople.

In our own country the modern phase of the question may be said to date from certain returns made to Parliament by the Local Government Board in 1890 and 1891. These

returns show that between childhood and the sixtieth year of life the ratio of pauperism to population is now very small indeed, but that after that age it increases swiftly. Upon these figures was based the famous statement in the Report of the Aberdare Commission that 'nearly 20 per cent. of the total population above the age of sixty-five receive relief in one day, and nearly 30 per cent. in the course of one year.' If from the total population were deducted the well to do, it was evident that a very large proportion—perhaps half—of the population below their level were, after sixty-five, in more or less frequent receipt of Poor Law relief. These returns were the heralds of three subsequent public inquiries into the matter.

The Royal Commission, of which Lord Aberdare was chairman, was appointed at the beginning of 1893, and instructed 'to consider whether any alterations in the system of Poor Law relief are desirable in the case of persons whose destitution is occasioned by incapacity for work, resulting from old age, or whether assistance could otherwise be afforded in those cases.' This Commission sat for two years, and took from about seventy witnesses evidence ranging over the whole administration of the Poor Law. They also examined numerous schemes for dealing with the old-age question.

The chief facts established by this well-conducted inquiry seem to be the following. Since the middle of the present century there has been a great decline in the ratio of total pauperism to the whole population. This decline is no doubt largely due to the increase in national wealth and to the larger share in it which the working classes have been able to secure, and to their own savings and organisations. It is also in part due to the success of the policy of 1834, and the disestablishment of the able-bodied pauper. Able-bodied pauperism has almost been rooted out; widowhood and sudden distress accounts for most of it that is left. In recent years most of those who have received relief, whether indoor or outdoor, have been the aged, the infirm, the sick, and children. Those of the aged who receive indoor relief are persons, as a rule, who by reason of infirmity of mind or body, or because the usual out-relief will not enable them to keep a home together, cannot live outside a public institution. Except in a very small number of Unions, all aged poor of fairly respectable character who need relief, and are not too infirm to live outside, do receive out-relief. The amount of out-relief varies much, but on the

average comes to about half a crown a week. This is not sufficient to support existence, but in almost all cases the recipients possess some supplementary means, derived from charity or small earnings. The relief is given as a rule upon this assumption. It is given without much discrimination or inquiry; a Board of Guardians has been timed to deal with 177 cases in one hour and eleven minutes. The theory of the Poor Law is that out-relief, when given at all, should be given after full investigation and in adequate amount. It is clear that, as a matter of fact, it is given after most scanty investigation, and without any pretence that it is sufficient of itself to support existence. In some cases it is virtually a grant to meet charitable donations; in others it operates as a public grant in aid of wages, or in aid of small pensions from old employers. The Aberdare Commission also made it clear that cases are not properly watched or revised, so that, as circumstances change, the relief originally granted often becomes too little or too much. It is further evident that this indiscriminate outdoor relief often flows more copiously in the direction of the less deserving but more pushing applicants, and that it frequently is a cause of deception and bitterness. An aged pious impostor can extract a very fair income by at once drawing Poor Law relief and tapping the fountains of several rival religious organisations.

The Aberdare Commission in their Report recommended

'that Boards of Guardians, in dealing with applications for relief, should inquire with special care into the antecedents of destitute persons whose physical faculties may have failed by reason of age and infirmity, and that outdoor relief should in such cases be given to those who have been of good character, thrifty according to their opportunities, and generally independent in early life, and who are not living under conditions of health or surrounding circumstances which make it evident that the relief given should be indoor relief.'

It is to be feared that this good advice is like the seed which fell upon rocky ground. A Board of Guardians is most often a body of not highly enlightened tradesmen or farmers, with here and there (more rarely perhaps than in the days of *ex-officio* members) a squire or clergyman, meeting at intervals for a couple of hours or less, and having to dispose in this space, not only of out-relief, but of the household cares of the workhouse. In rural districts, since 1894, exactly the same men, meeting under a different name, have to administer roads and sanitary matters. How should we

expect them to go into every case as if they were a Charity Organisation Society, specialised for that business? Guardians might have replied to the Royal Commission, as the old woman of Kent to the Vicar, 'Ha, nice advice, nice 'advice!'

At the same time the Aberdare inquiry—and this has been confirmed by much evidence before the recent Select Committee on Cottage Homes—showed how much improved the state of workhouses has been in recent years. A certain melancholy must always attach to old age spent in great public institutions, but there is no doubt that, so far as material comfort—food, warmth, and cleanliness—can compensate for the loss of a home, aged inmates are often much better off than if they lived outside. Especially in great cities is this the case, both because life outside is harder than in the country, and because the workhouses are better. In some places such as Liverpool and Sheffield, and some London Unions, the system of classification is being carried out on a large scale. In Liverpool, for instance, in the West Derby Union, all deserving old people are drafted into an entirely separate building in another part of the town. This building is in effect an old-age asylum. There is every reason to think that the system will spread. It is chiefly in consequence of improved accommodation, nursing, and medical treatment in workhouses, that the total Poor Law expenditure increased by three millions a year in England and Wales between 1861 and 1891, and has rapidly increased since then, especially since the administration was entrusted in 1894 to more democratically elected bodies.

The modern 'House,' with all its melancholy, is at least a far better abode than the miserable little Inferno so powerfully described by Crabbe at the end of the last century :—

'Theirs is yon house that holds the parish poor,
Whose walls of mud scarce bear the broken door,
There, where the putrid odours, flagging, play,
And the dull wheel hums doleful through the day;
There children dwell who know no parents' care;
Parents, who know no children's love, dwell there;
Heart-broken matrons on their joyless bed,
Forsaken wives, and mothers never wed;
Dejected widows with unheeded tears,
And crippled age with more than childhood fears;
The lame, the blind, and, far the happiest they!
The moping idiot, and the madman gay.'

The account given of such places by the Poor Law Commissioners of 1834 is but a prose version of the strong and exact poet. Describing the smaller parochial workhouses (and the larger were not much better), they said :—

' We usually find the building called a workhouse occupied by sixty or eighty paupers, made up of a dozen or more neglected children (under the care, perhaps, of a pauper), about twenty or thirty able-bodied adult paupers of both sexes, and probably an equal number of aged and impotent persons, proper objects of relief. Amidst these the mothers of bastard children and prostitutes live without shame, and associate freely with the youth, who have also the examples and conversation of the frequent inmates of the county gaol, the poacher, the vagrant, the decayed beggar, and other characters of the worst description. To these may often be added a solitary blind person, one or two idiots, and not infrequently are heard, far away from the rest, the incessant ravings of some neglected lunatic. In such receptacles the sick poor are often immured.'

To the poor inmates of that day a modern Union house would have seemed a paradise of peace, order, and comfort. The strong existing tendency towards further amelioration may be hastened if, by legislation or administrative pressure, the recommendations recently made by the 'Select Committee on Cottage Homes' can be carried out. They suggest that, in order to make space for the better classification of aged inmates, all children other than infants should be maintained outside of the workhouse premises, and that it should be the duty of County Councils to provide separate institutions for the reception of all pauper imbeciles and epileptics, as they already do for the insane. They advise also that Guardians should provide cottage homes within the Unions for married couples and 'respectable old persons whose poverty is not their own fault but the result of misfortune.' In all this advice Mr. Russell's Committee do but swim with the tide of feeling which is even now bringing these things to pass.

The Aberdare Commission did not restrict themselves to the examination of the existing Poor Law system and suggestions as to its improvement. They investigated the various methods by which provision is made for old age through endowed charities, friendly societies, and other organisations. They carefully examined several pension schemes which were brought before them. Among these were Mr. Charles Booth's plan for universal pensions for the good and the bad, the saving and the thriftless, the millionaire and the man without a penny. They examined

also Canon Blackley's scheme of compulsory insurance and the scheme then advocated by Mr. Chamberlain of deferred annuities assisted by the State. None of these schemes were the majority able to recommend. Mr. Chamberlain, however, and some of his fellow-commissioners were of opinion that these schemes had not been sufficiently dealt with, and suggested that a further inquiry into this part of the subject should be made by 'a Special Commission 'less numerous than ours, and better able to deal with the 'complicated technical details of the subject in an impartial 'and scientific spirit.'

This suggestion led, after the present Government had come into power in 1895, to the appointment of the committee presided over by Lord Rothschild. This committee was composed of several distinguished permanent officials, together with two or three actuaries and representatives of friendly societies. They were instructed

'to consider any schemes for encouraging the industrial population, by State aid or otherwise, to make provision for old age . . . with special regard, in the case of any proposals of which they may approve, to their cost and probable financial results to the Exchequer and local rates, their effect in promoting habits of thrift and self-reliance, their influence on the prosperity of the friendly societies, and the possibility of securing the co-operation of these institutions in their practical working.'

The Rothschild Committee presented a virtually unanimous report after two years' consideration of the subject. They held themselves to be forbidden by the terms of their reference to recommend any scheme not involving a direct and positive contribution in money made by the recipient towards his own endowment in old age. They examined various schemes for attaining that end by way of deferred annuities assisted by the State. They condemned these schemes for various reasons, especially because no system of this kind could have any direct effect until some forty years after its introduction, and because it seemed to them most undesirable that the State, already unable to make the Post Office Savings Bank pay its way, should become the holder of further great accumulations of money, and subject to uncertain future liabilities. The Rothschild Committee then constructed with great care a model scheme of their own, upon the basis of one suggested by Sir Spencer Walpole. This scheme is, in short, that any person over sixty-five years of age who could produce an income from an 'assured source' of not less than 2s. 6d. and not more

than 5*s.* a week should receive from public funds a supplement, varying inversely to his own income, but not exceeding 2*s. 6d.* a week. An ‘assured income’ was to mean an income derived from real estate, or a Post Office or friendly society annuity, or any other safe source. The Committee offered this scheme as the best which they could devise within the limits of their reference, and then crushed it themselves with powerful criticism. After pointing out that the system would encourage thrift up to a certain point, and after that would actually discourage, that it would only assist a part, perhaps a third part, of the manual labour classes, since the 5*s.* income limit would exclude those who were better off, and the impossibility of providing the 2*s. 6d.* contribution would exclude all the poorest, and that of the remnant many, through infirmity, would be unable to live upon a pension outside of public institutions, the Committee said:—

‘We can hardly, for the benefit of so limited a section of the community, recommend the Government to establish a pension system, which must be extremely difficult and costly to administer, which excludes the really destitute and those who, owing to broken health and misfortune, or want of employment, or a lower rate of wage-earning, can make no contribution, and which would be open to considerable fraudulent claims, difficult, often impossible, to detect.’

We think the Rothschild Committee did valuable service in closing certain paths of advance and thus diminishing the number of possible directions which policy in this matter may take. Many paths once considered open are now ‘hedged up with thorns,’ to use a Biblical phrase. The system of compulsory insurance against old age, imposed with doubtful success upon Germany by the iron will of Bismarck, is generally felt to be repugnant to the genius of English liberty. The universal system of Mr. Booth, by reason of its immense cost, is felt to be as yet beyond the range of the possible. The report of the Rothschild Committee is a sentence of death to schemes dependent upon deferred annuities or direct money contributions by the recipients.

The movement in favour of better old-age relief was not checked by the Rothschild Report, but it was forced to flow through fewer channels. Several Bills were brought by private members before the House of Commons embodying different principles. Probably there was a division of opinion upon the whole question in the Cabinet itself since—usual sign of compromise—it was resolved to remit the

matter to a new inquiry. This time it was entrusted neither to a Royal Commission nor to a Treasury Committee, but to the less coldly critical judgement of a Select Committee of the House of Commons. The Committee were instructed 'to consider and report upon the best means of improving the condition of the aged deserving poor, and providing for those of them who are helpless and infirm.' They were also instructed to examine the several Old-Age Pension Bills and to see whether any of them could be recommended to Parliament with or without amendment.

A study of the proceedings of this Select Committee shows that three main views were represented there. First we find the view that any kind of pension system will do more harm than good. Any such system, it is urged, must discourage thrift, self-reliance, industry, affect wage rates, immensely increase the intervention of administrative authorities in the affairs of life, and even then be extremely difficult to administer, and must open a source of temptation to future politicians. To take such a step would be, according to this view, to put back the clock of economic progress. It would be an error like in kind to that committed by Mr. Pitt's Government when, in 1796, they conferred a right to out-relief upon able-bodied labourers. Mr. Lecky, the chief exponent of these views upon the Committee, thus ends his rejected but very able draft Report :—

'To open a new and ever-increasing fund, amounting to many millions a year, derived from compulsory taxation, and employed in directly subsidising the poor, would, in my opinion, be a most retrograde and dangerous step. It would reproduce, in a most dangerous form, the evils of the old Poor Law as it existed before the reform of 1834. It would certainly arrest that steady decline of pauperism which has been one of the happiest features of our time. It would check the growth or destroy the efficiency of voluntary organisations and arrangements which are of the highest value. It could scarcely fail to weaken the habits of providence and thrift which have been rapidly growing among the poor, and which are a vital element in national prosperity, and in many other ways which I have endeavoured to indicate it would prove in a very high degree detrimental to the interests of the Empire.'

To Mr. Lecky and those who think with him—including many high social authorities—no reform seems to be advisable beyond a gradual and cautious improvement of the administration of the Poor Law, by way of better classification of the recipients both of indoor and outdoor relief.

This, they believe, can safely be left to the local authorities, stimulated by a more attentive and humane public opinion, and guided by the central administrative wisdom. This view is, we think, entitled to great respect. It remains to be seen whether there is any tenable ground between it and the extreme policy of advance espoused by Mr. Charles Booth.

The second line of action which found advocacy in the Select Committee is that of conferring a legal right to old-age pensions upon all persons qualified by definite acts of merit. The qualification most commonly suggested is membership of a friendly society during a fixed term of years. This proposal encountered the objection that, in theory, membership of a friendly society is not the one proof of an economically virtuous life, and that, in practice, the adoption of such a qualification would exclude a vast host of meritorious persons. In Ireland, for instance, there is plenty of thrift, but membership of friendly societies is not the form which it usually takes. A still more serious consideration is that, in the United Kingdom, the majority of persons over sixty-five are women. For the most part women are unable to keep up the regular and unfailing weekly contributions which these societies require. At bottom, moreover, friendly societies, as their jovial titles indicate, are based upon a principle of masculine club life, exclusive by its nature of womankind, since women for many reasons are not 'clubable.' As a matter of fact, an inappreciable number of women belong to these societies. But then this question arises: A flourishing artisan has earned his 30s. a week for thirty years; without great sacrifice of his meat, beer, and tobacco he has kept up his club subscription and has received his reward by pay in sickness: a woman has had six children, has spent all the money allowed her by her husband in food and clothing, has never had sixpence to spare to put by in a savings bank or to subscribe to a society, and is now left an old widow and destitute; on what moral grounds should a pension be given to the artisan and refused to the widow? Or, even, why should a pension be given to a member of a friendly society, but refused to a man who, in a free country, has chosen rather to place all his savings in a savings bank, or to subscribe to a building society, or accumulate share capital in a co-operative society, or to help his children, or to turn his spare cash to some of fifty other no less meritorious purposes? And is it expedient that the State

should hold out an express inducement to persons to join societies which are too often financially unsound? It is true that to give pensions to those persons only who had belonged for a fixed time to friendly societies (including trades unions with friendly benefits) would make the cost of the system much less alarming. Yet public opinion would scarcely be satisfied by an economy effected through the exclusion of almost all women, Irishmen, and the multitude of labourers whose employment is fluctuating and habitation unfixed. The present movement had its source in the statistical revelation of the great number of old people who were compelled to seek the shelter of the workhouse or to live on insufficient doles of out-relief. The Aberdare Commission supplied abundant evidence that but a small proportion of those who have belonged for long terms to friendly societies ever do apply for relief. The movement would hardly find its goal in a system which did not assist those whose need for assistance was the fountain and origin of the movement itself.

A third view urged before a Select Committee was that a legal right to a pension should be given to every person who was over sixty-five, had not received Poor-Law relief (save under exceptional circumstances) for twenty years, had not been convicted of any criminal offence, and did not derive from other sources an income of more than 10s. a week. This plan escapes the objections upon which we have just been dwelling. It is certainly not open to the charge of exclusiveness. A vast number of people possess, after sixty-five, an income of less than 10s. a week, and do, or can, fulfil the conditions of not receiving Poor-Law relief before sixty-five. In this case the practical difficulty is not injustice, but the enormous cost. There are at present about two millions of persons in the United Kingdom over sixty-five years of age. There is much reason to believe that of these not more than about 700,000 possess incomes exceeding 10s. a week. Certainly, at any rate, this would be the case if a public pension system gave an excellent reason to employers to reduce the wages and pensions at present given by them to their old or superannuated *employés*; and if so strong a motive to reduce or conceal income were applied to those who possess two or three shillings a week beyond the line. How many of the remaining 1,300,000 persons over sixty-five would be disqualified by the receipt of non-exceptional poor relief? Many at first, no doubt, if (which is unlikely) Parliament made no exception in favour of those already too old to

qualify under the new law. But one has to consider what would happen when the system came into full play. In some years' time the existing mass of aged paupers would have died out; all the efforts of private charity would have been turned to keeping those below sixty-five off the rates; the poor themselves would have made greater efforts, in the hope of a pension, to avoid relief before the age. Thus a multitude of persons would rise into this favoured class from below, and drop down into it from above. The result of all this would be, we think, that within fifteen or twenty years after the law had been passed almost the whole of the industrial class, and part of the lower middle, or small trading class, would, on arriving at the pension age, be legally entitled to pensions. In view of the rapid increase of population in the middle of the present century it seems probable that if the system were established in 1900, some million and a half of persons might, by the year 1920, be in receipt of pensions. If the pension was 5s. a week and why should it not be doubled by some ambitious statesman?—the annual expenditure upon this object would then amount to nearly twenty millions, or, if a large deduction be made for saving to Poor-Law relief under the present system, the net additional expenditure might be some fifteen or sixteen millions. The country might, of course, be then so much wealthier that it could bear this burden with ease. But, again, it might be poorer, or have far larger military and naval expenditure to meet, and, in any case, have we a right so to mortgage the future? Adapting the famous Irish bull, one might ask what burden posterity has imposed upon us, that we should impose such a burden upon posterity?

Thus, on the one hand we have a scheme involving exclusive partiality, on the other a scheme involving an almost unthinkable cost. Between this Scylla and Charybdis the majority of the Select Committee endeavoured to steer. Their recommendations are evidently in the nature of a compromise between contending ideas. If the test of a successful compromise be that it should unite men of opposite views, each side believing that their object is substantially achieved, then Mr. Chaplin may boast that the compromise suggested and carried through by him has been successful. It has united the suffrages of men so unlike as Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir James Rankin, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Lionel Holland, and Mr. Michael Davitt. A combination of this kind shows, we suspect, that there are very

different ideas as to the way in which the scheme, if it became law, would be administered.

The Select Committee, after summarising the evidence which they had taken, thus state the problem to be solved :—

'In dealing with this question there are two considerations which should always be borne in mind. One is the painful position and the hardship of the lot of many of the poor who are deserving, but who cannot help themselves, and who are relegated in their closing years either to inadequate out-door relief or to the still more distasteful shelter of the workhouse. The other is the striking and marked development in the efforts of many of the poorer classes to make provision for themselves, and the problem to be solved is how to reconcile two objects which may appear to be conflicting; in other words, how to devise the means of making kindlier and more humane provision for the one class, without doing anything to discourage or arrest the laudable efforts of the other.'

In briefer words, how is it possible to help some without discouraging others to help themselves—a difficulty, be it noted, which is also attached to the present system of out-relief to the old? The Committee then state the scheme of conferring a right to pensions upon all persons over sixty-five, except those who have received poor relief, or have been convicted of a criminal offence, or who possess an income of more than 10s. a week. They state also the rival scheme, based more strictly upon justification by works, which requires the applicant either to have belonged to a friendly society for twenty years or to have secured a contributory income by the exercise of some definite kind of saving or thrift. They point out the costliness of the first scheme, the exclusiveness of the second. They then state their own *via media*. It is to this effect: Any person who satisfies the pension authority that he is a British subject, is sixty-five years of age, has not during a fixed preceding term received Poor-Law relief (other than medical) save under altogether exceptional circumstances, is resident within the district of the authority, has not an income from any source of more than 10s. a week, 'and has endeavoured to the best of his ability, by his industry or by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent upon him, shall receive a certificate to that effect and be entitled to a pension.' The Committee add this important definition :—

'With reference to the exercise of "reasonable providence," we think that the authority should be bound to take into consideration

whether, and how far, it has been shown, either by membership of a benefit society for a period of years, or by the endeavour of the applicant to make such provision for his own support by means of savings or investments, or some other definite mode of thrift.'

The pension districts are to correspond with the present Unions, and the pension authority is to be a body chiefly consisting of persons appointed by the Board of Guardians from among their own members, together with some nominees of other representative bodies in the district. The cost of the pensions is to be borne primarily by the local rates in each district, but a subvention is to be given by the Exchequer in aid of the general Poor-Law expenditure in each district.

It will be observed that this scheme differs from one of those already described in that it requires the applicant to furnish some proof of positive thrift and self-help, and from the other in that there is no absolute or hard-and-fast requirement that he or she should have belonged to a friendly society, or should produce a contributory income from an assured source. The terms are wide enough to allow a pension to be given to an old man who could show that twenty years ago he had belonged for five years to a village benefit club which had broken, or to an old woman who could show that she had at one time accumulated 10*l.* or 12*l.* in the savings bank, though she had long ago had to spend it all. The words, were they law, would even allow the authority to give a pension to a man who had not been able to belong to any society or put by a penny, but 'by his industry . . . had made provision for 'himself and those immediately dependent on him'—that is, we suppose, had kept himself and his wife, and had brought up his children and started them in life. It is clear that legislation upon these lines would leave open a very wide field to the discretion of the administering authority, and that very different interpretations might be placed upon it in various districts. The administration would certainly not be at all the same in Middlesex and in Kerry. There is much to be said in favour of this elasticity, allowing, as it does, room for experiment and adaptation to varying local conditions. It does, however, mightily increase the difficulty of calculating beforehand what the total cost will be; indeed, it really renders anything approaching to a near estimate wholly impossible. The Select Committee very wisely declined to undertake such a task, and advised that it should be committed to 'competent experts.' But how

should experts, however competent, determine a question like this? There cannot be an expert where there is no experience. It should rather have been referred to a mixed committee of prophets and students of human nature. If a system of this kind should be rigidly administered, its cost might be confined within not too extensive boundaries. Liberally administered, the cost might be not much below that of the other scheme, the cost of which we have already discussed. It is not clear—though this is a most important matter—whether the Committee contemplate that an applicant whose claim is rejected is to have a right to try the question by suing the authority in a court of law. If so, the cost of the system will depend on the interpretation which courts may in future adopt. How can the ‘competent ‘experts’ predict what this will be? If, on the other hand, courts of law are to have no voice in the matter, the interpretation of an Act upon these lines would largely be the resultant of the conflict in different districts between two forces—that of the local ratepayers, upon whom it is proposed to throw part of the burden, and that of those inhabitants who are less directly interested in the height of the rates than in the free distribution of pensions—a conflict modified by the alternate ebb and flow of various moral feelings. We need, certainly, seers rather than competent experts to forecast this result in terms of pounds sterling. If they are to make any calculation at all, the experts will probably find themselves obliged to assume that everyone who has not received poor-relief before sixty-five will fall within the category of the pension-worthy. Then, again, the Committee recommend that each district authority should be allowed to fix the pension scale for its own district at any sum not less than 5s. or more than 7s. a week, according to the cost of living in that locality. It is difficult to predict what the choice of most districts would be; yet this unmade choice is a most important element in the calculations as to the total cost. The competent experts will probably take an average of 6s., but who can say whether this will correspond with future realities?

It is not, we repeat, clear whether the Committee contemplate that a legal right to pensions shall be given to applicants who fulfil the conditions. Any person, they say, who satisfies the pension authority upon certain points ‘shall receive a certificate to that effect, and shall be ‘entitled to a pension.’ Does this mean that, if they refuse him a pension, he may resort to a court of law and prove

that they ought to have been satisfied? The use of the word 'entitled' would incline one to think that this is the meaning of the Committee. Yet there is no mention in their Report of a court of law, or even of an appeal to a central administrative authority. It is a pity that their intention, if they had a conscious intention, is thus veiled in obscurity, because here is the crucial point of the whole matter. If the right to sue at law for a pension is not given, the scheme may be regarded as a great extension of the existing principles of the Poor Law. If a right to sue is given, the scheme is a revolutionary departure from those principles. Courts would soon have to decide questions like these: What kind of poor relief disqualifies for a pension? What are the 'exceptional circumstances,' relief under which does not disqualify? If a man has voluntarily reduced his income from 12s. to 9s. 6d. a week in order to claim a pension, can he have it? What is the meaning of residence within the district of the authority? Must he have resided for six months, one year, two years? As to the last qualification—that the applicant should have 'endeavoured to the best of his ability, by his industry or by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent on him,' almost every word would afford material for a leading case. In the end rigid lines within which such pensions might be granted would be established, and all experience of the judicial mind teaches us to believe that the terms of the statute would be construed as strictly and literally as possible. This would, no doubt, be to the advantage of the taxpayer, until, at any rate, an indignant House of Commons removed the restrictions by new statute. On the other hand, the following considerations lead us to think that Parliament should confer no right to pensions enforceable in courts.

It is at present law in the United Kingdom that every destitute person is legally entitled to relief from the public taxes. The word 'destitute' means that he is unable to supply himself with the bare necessities of existence—food, clothing, and shelter, sufficient to keep him alive. Practice has often been lax, but no one has ever had a legal right to more than this. Nor, taking the whole history, has there ever been a right to anything more than relief given in a workhouse. The great deviation from this rule was under the statute of 1796, by which any applicant was allowed to appeal to any justice of the peace for an order to the over-

seers to give him out-relief. This deviation had most disastrous consequences, and almost ruined the country. The right was taken away by the Reform of 1834, a measure which could perhaps only have been carried at a time when the poor had hardly any electoral power. Since then no one has had a legal right to more than the shelter of the workhouse. Guardians have, however, been permitted to give out-relief to the old and infirm, and, in special circumstances, to others. This faculty the Guardians have used so largely that, as we have seen, there are few deserving old persons in workhouses, except those who are there by reason of unwillingness or physical or mental inability to live outside. Thus the case stands. The Guardians are not obliged to give out-relief to the old, they cannot be sued for it; but, in fact, they do give it in the great majority of possible cases. Now, the object of modern reformers is that the class of old persons who now receive uncertain and inadequate doles of out-relief should receive certain and adequate pensions, and that the benefit of such pensions should be extended to another large class—that of the people who, at present, are able with some difficulty to maintain themselves in old age just above the line of receipt of Poor-Law relief. We think that the experience acquired under the working of the reformed Poor Law has proved the wisdom of restricting most narrowly the legal right to public assistance, while giving to the local authorities power to relieve, less distastefully, the old and infirm. We believe that the same rule should apply to pensions. The word ‘pension’ has been adopted as a euphemism, but the name does not affect the fact that pensions would still be relief from public funds given to more or less poor persons on the ground of poverty. The relief is to be given in a more adequate and permanent form, and to a larger class, but it will not differ in its essential character—that of assistance from public funds, from the present out-relief. We think that it is advisable to establish such a system of improved relief, but we contend that, as in the case of the present out-relief of which it will be a development, the applicant should have no legally enforceable right. Legislation should fix the minimum and maximum amount of pensions, and should, for the guidance of administering authorities, indicate in a wide way the terms upon which they may be given, and should provide for central subventions in aid of the increased expenditure.

Two roads, to resume this part of the discussion, seem to

await the choice of the Government and Legislature. One road is that of conferring a legal right to pensions upon all who fulfil certain conditions. These conditions may either be exactly fixed by Act of Parliament—a proposal wisely rejected by Mr. Chaplin's Committee—or they may be indicated in wide terms, the interpretation being left to the pension authorities, subject to correction by courts of law. But under this system also the conditions would become, though gradually, rigid and universally binding. As points were decided by courts of law it is probable that there would before long be considerable pressure upon Government to alter the conditions by statute. This road seems to us to be a new and dangerous departure.

The other road is that of development upon the lines of the existing Poor Law. No legal right to pensions would be given; the line of progress would be towards the complete substitution of permanent, adequate, and discriminating relief to the old, for the present system of casual, inadequate, indiscriminating relief, given on a principle which certainly involves some discouragement to thrift. This, we think, is the line which would be adopted by prudent statesmanship desirous not of revolution but of reform.

In any case, Ministers must now choose, if they intend to make any large change, between these two main lines of policy. Either they must give a legally enforceable right to pensions, or they must entrust to local bodies the same power to grant or refuse pensions, as Guardians now have to grant or refuse out-relief, without being exposed to actions at law. An Act of Parliament could hardly, like the Report of the Select Committee, leave this important question in obscurity. We may add, in support of the policy which we advise, that the legal right, if once granted to a multitude of electors, could never be revoked; but that, on the other hand, if the local authorities failed to discharge properly the duty entrusted to them, the legal right could be established by further legislation. It is in accordance with the spirit of British legislation to proceed by slow steps, and not to use compulsion until it has been proved to be necessary.

If a pension system be established, the question next arises whether the law should fix a line of income from other sources, excess whereof in the case of any applicant should be a disqualification. In the Report drafted for the Select Committee by Mr. Chaplin no definite line is fixed; but the question of the need of the applicant is left to the

discretion of the administrative authority. Many passages in the Report show that Mr. Chaplin took as the chief model of his proposals, as originally framed, the common form or type upon which the Charity Commissioners, guided by experience of forty years, have moulded the numerous pension schemes established by them for endowed charities. The conditions contained in these schemes are usually five in number. The pensioners must be: (1) poor; (2) of good character, and able to show that they have led 'reasonably provident lives'; (3) they must have been resident in the parish for a fixed term; (4) not have received Poor-Law relief during the same period; and (5) they must be 'wholly or in part unable to maintain themselves by their own exertions by reason either of old age, ill-health, accident, or infirmity.' It is left to the discretion of the administering trustees of the charities to decide what is poverty, reasonable providence, good character, inability for self-maintenance; nor is there any appeal from their decisions. The evidence taken by the Select Committee showed that this system works in a satisfactory manner. In the Report as originally drafted by Mr. Chaplin it is a condition that the applicant for a pension should be 'unable to maintain himself without assistance.' These words were deleted in a division carried against the Chairman, and for them was substituted the qualification that the applicant should not have 'an income from any source of more than 10*s.* a week.' The effect of this very important alteration is that the administering authority, instead of taking into consideration, upon the point of need, all the circumstances of the applicant, as the trustees of a charity would do, would merely have to ascertain the amount of his income, whether from wages or any other source.

The most obvious criticism on this provision is that a person who by restraining his saving or earning powers had only 9*s.* a week, would obtain five more from the public, while his more saving and industrious neighbour who possessed 11*s.* a week would get nothing. Unless, therefore, a man could earn more than 15*s.* a week, he would be under a strong inducement to earn no more than nine. If, again, an employer were paying a man over sixty-five 12*s.* a week, it would be to the advantage both of the employer and the employed that the wage should be reduced to 8*s.* This would be hard upon the man of sixty-three, not entitled to a pension, whose wage-rate would also be affected. In the same way, if an employer were giving a pension of

12*s.* a week to an old servant, it would be to the interest of both that this pension should be reduced to 8*s.* If the Act were passed, it would be necessary to revise the pension systems at present obtaining in the lower State services, railway services, and other large employments. The system would benefit employers at the cost of the general public. It would be a partial return to the plan of paying half wages out of rates in use before the reform of the Poor Law. Charitable persons and good employers would be relieved at the public cost. So would the trade-unions and friendly societies, to whom the support of their aged members, from funds calculated to meet sickness only, is becoming a source of great financial difficulties. If no precise line of pension-excluding income were fixed, but discretion upon this point were left to the administering authorities, the element of uncertainty would, at any rate, be an obstacle to definite reductions of wages, private pensions, and other sources of income of old persons.

It is true that if there were no fixed line of disqualifying income there might be some danger lest the local authorities should give pensions to the really well to do. This danger would not, we think, be great if part of the burden were thrown upon local rates. A better argument in favour of the Committee's proposal to fix a definite income line is that, without this, the local authorities would be likely to refuse pensions to all who had more than a shilling or two a week. This would be a discouragement to thrift and exertion in the same way that present out-relief is a discouragement, but on a larger scale. At present a man by saving, through the agency of a friendly or commercial insurance society, a penny a day from the age of twenty, can secure for himself an income of 5*s.* a week after sixty-five. Why do so if that income were likely to debar him from receiving the same sum from the public? If the line of disqualifying income were fixed at 10*s.*, he would be deterred from saving more than enough to secure 9*s.* 11*d.*, but would have some motive to save or earn a smaller income, so that he might add something to the public assistance. Thrift would be checked at a higher instead of a lower point.

Whether legislation left discretionary power to the local authority, or whether it fixed a definite line of disqualifying income, there would be great difficulty in ascertaining the facts, and much temptation held out to fraud and deception. The fact is that the mere statement of these 'pros and cons'

shows the complexity of the whole problem, and indicates the immense and far-reaching economic disturbance of our present social arrangements which any large step will cause. Difficulties of this kind, together with those attending investigation of merit, led Mr. Charles Booth, whose opinion is entitled to very great consideration, to reject any scheme save one for establishing pensions entirely without regard either to need or to desert. His maxim is to give either to all the old or not at all.

It remains to be said upon this point that the disqualifying line of 10s. a week adopted by the Committee against the will of their chairman is a very high one. Assuming that legislation followed the lines of the scheme, and that the other conditions were construed liberally, a line of 10s. would make the cost of the scheme enormous. If any definite line be fixed, it would seem more prudent that it should not—at first at any rate—exceed 5s. a week. Any line taken might be raised if necessary, but in a matter like this there are no steps backward.

This, then, is the position which the Government have to face. A Royal Commission, after examining the subject for two years, reported strongly against the adoption of any general scheme of old-age pensions. An ‘expert committee,’ after another two years’ meditation, found it impossible to recommend any scheme involving definite voluntary contributions by the pensioners. At the same time, they clearly intimated their concurrence with the view held by the Royal Commission that a more general scheme would be injurious to the economic health of the community. A Select Committee of the House of Commons, chiefly composed of men already deeply pledged to some large change, has recommended a scheme of which the cost, depending as it does upon contingencies, cannot be estimated with any approach to exactness, but certainly will, in the near future, be very large. Even at first it will probably be so great as to make necessary a development of our financial system. Either there must be an increase of death duties and income tax or, as Mr. Chaplin and others have already proposed, a return to discarded Custom duties, such as taxation of imported foodstuff. The results of any large step taken by the Cabinet will be as far-reaching in the way of finance as in that of industrial economy. It is possible that, as in that fatal year of Poor-Law reform—1796—we may be on the verge of doing much harm in order to do some good. The remedy may be more desperate

than the disease. We think, indeed, that the hardship of the existing system to the poor has been somewhat exaggerated in the preliminary part of the Select Committee's Report. There are, no doubt, a multitude of hard cases both below and just above the line of actual pauperism, but these may, perhaps, be met by a reform less full of risk to the social health of the nation. If the evil can only be met by a very large measure there is much to be said in favour of the adoption of that proposed by the Select Committee. But if the Government think it best not to embark at once upon a scheme so large, and possibly so full of latent dangerous consequences, they will, as cautious trustees of permanent national interests, have good reasons for their decision. They may well prefer to submit to Parliament, at least as an interim experiment, some less ambitious measure, remembering that one can proceed, if necessary, from the smaller to the larger, but not conversely. There are various ways of modest dealing with the hard cases of old age, but we think that the following suggestions may deserve some attention.

The simplest plan, and possibly the most effective, would be to enact that whenever outdoor relief was given to any person over sixty-five years of age it should not in future be less than 5s. a week, that it should be given for long terms, subject to revision, and that the receipt of it should not involve any civil disqualification. A large subsidy would have to be made by the central exchequer to local rates to aid in meeting the additional cost imposed by such legislation. If this were done, and if a special committee of guardians (with some co-optative members) were constituted in each district to deal with the old age cases, and if workhouse classification were pushed forward, the primary necessities of the case would probably be met, although the sentiment of the more ambitious reformers would not be satisfied. We shall conclude by suggesting an alternative, and perhaps a better, method.

In addition to what may be called the elementary relief given under the Poor Law, there has always been a large secondary relief, derived partly from voluntary and partly from endowed charity. The income derived from endowed charity and applicable to old-age relief in almshouses or by way of pensions now exceeds 600,000*l.* a year in England and Wales, and a good deal more money, now more or less ill-applied in dole charities, might be converted to the same excellent use. Almshouses and charitable pensions thus

solve the problem of existence for many deserving old persons. But these resources, like those of secondary education, are scattered over the country in a quite haphazard way, dependent on the chances of history. One old city has more charities than are good for it, while, in a district hard by, a new and poor suburb of a manufacturing town has nothing at all. This system might be strengthened, and the gaps in it be filled up by public aid, much as the old elementary education system was strengthened, and the gaps in it filled up. In every Union district, for instance, a new Board of Relief might be constituted by secondary election from existing representative bodies, somewhat in the manner suggested by the Select Committee with regard to the Pension Authority which they propose. Parliament might then vote an annual grant of, say, two millions, to be divided among these boards in proportion to population, and to be applied by them, within certain lines as to mode, but with a wide discretion, in relief of the necessitous deserving old and infirm persons in each district. In order that relief might not overlap, the new boards should be in touch with the Guardians, and with trustees of charities and with charity organisation societies, and, in fact, form a centre of all relief of this kind in each district, as in France do the 'Bureaux de Bienfaisance.' The boards would both give pensions directly, and have power to make grants in aid of new or insufficiently endowed almshouses, infirmaries, nursing associations, and similar institutions. Inasmuch as they would largely relieve the poor rates, their funds might be supplemented by a share in those rates. At the same time, if it were desired to make reform at the centre correspond with reform at the circumference, the Poor-Law side of the much enlarged and overburdened Local Government Board might be amalgamated with the Charity Commission into a single and distinct Parliamentary department of Public Relief, destined to devote specialised energy to the supervision of the education of 'Poor-Law children,' the treatment of able-bodied vagrancy and incapacity, and the better care of the deserving old and infirm.

We think the advantage of some scheme of this kind would be twofold. On the one side the country would not be involved in indefinite liability to expenditure beyond the power of Parliament to check. On the other side, the local authorities, having only a definite sum to spend—being as it were the trustees of a very large, yet finite, endowed charity—would be more careful in their investigation of

cases. They would know that, as they had only a certain number of pensions to grant, the gift to a person who did not need or deserve might exclude the gift to one who did. Many of the schemes submitted to public attention are based upon the principle of giving to the administering authorities very narrow discretion as to granting or refusing pensions, but a bottomless purse upon which to draw. It seems to us that it might be wiser to give to the authorities a limited fund, but a wide discretion both as to the conditions upon which relief shall be granted and the manner in which it shall be applied.

- ART. IV.—1. *English Prose.* Selections, with Critical Introductions by various Writers, and General Introductions to each Period. Edited by HENRY CRAIK. Vol. V. ‘Nineteenth Century.’ London: 1896.
2. *Style.* By WALTER RALEIGH. London: 1898. (Th'rd edition.)
3. *A Book of English Prose: Character and Incident, 1387–1649.* Selected by W. E. HENLEY and C. WHIBLEY. London: 1894.

THE developement of literature seems to follow in all countries a fixed and accountable line of evolution. From irregularity and looseness it gradually closes in to order and coherence; then, when individual differences have been, so far as may be, obliterated by general acquiescence in a common standard of taste, a reaction asserts itself, and men seek to excel by a studious eccentricity. Poetry comes to its flowering earlier than prose, for poetry must always lose more than it gains by the imposition upon the poet of ideals not personal to himself. But prose is essentially the vehicle of thought and clear narrative, so that it submits, without diminution of its peculiar value, to be disciplined into strict conformity with reason, the common faculty of man. Nothing will awaken precisely the same emotions in two human beings, and the appeal of poetry is from emotions to emotions; a man makes out of words something that affects us we cannot describe how. It touches us through all our experience of life in a way that logic cannot, like a sight or a sound in lonely places, awakening in us faculties older and deeper than articulate reason. But from two premises accurately stated in syllogistic form all men will draw the same conclusion; and of this thought, capable of reduction to abstract form, prose is the appropriate vehicle. For the distinction between poetry and prose, though not wholly logical, is real and not fallacious. Poetry uses for its medium impassioned language which, in obedience to an instinct apparently as old as man, is grouped into arbitrary rhythms and called verse. It may also, and with astounding effect, use true prose, the language of common speech, but only with a consummate artifice of setting. Take Webster's line, ‘Cover her face; mine eyes ‘dazzle; she died young,’ and what is it apart from its setting? Yet in the scene where it stands no speech in verse that even Shakespeare could have written would ever equal

it. But, broadly speaking, prose is the natural medium of ordinary speech, which aims not at the feelings, but at the mind, and it is used to relate, to convince, or to discourse. It aims at conveying a meaning which can be repeated in other words, whereas the poem seeks to convey itself. The best poetry is untranslateable; the best prose can be rendered, though not without loss. In short, for a poet words are equal in importance to the meaning itself; in prose they are subordinate. Read Milton or Shakespeare, and you never for a moment, even when passion is at its highest, lose sight of the actual beauty of the words. Read 'Gulliver's Travels' or the 'Drapier's Letters,' and nothing will divert your attention from the full precision of the narrative or lucid exposition of the thought. Anybody telling the same story or arguing the same case might, one would say, have used those very words. Yet no one since the world was created ever wrote better prose than Swift.

It was after this fashion that prose in the world's history was first employed. Men who wished to write beautifully wrote in verse; men who had something to say that was of interest, and did not pique themselves upon the way of saying it, set down their narrative or their argument in prose. The result, in English, was that admirable plainness which may be judged of from the selections which Mr. Henley and Mr. Whibley have put together in a fascinating volume. Foxe and Holinshed wrote roughly and with some uncertainty of grammar; but they wrote better, because plainer, English than the average Englishman with pen in hand wrote a century later. But it is as natural to man to ornament his discourse as to ornament his person; and while Holinshed still flourished there came into vogue an elaborate prose. None more elaborate has ever been written than that of which Lyly set the example in 'Euphues,' and it developed into the dialogue of Shakespeare's comedies, and may be traced even in the elaborate antitheses and interwoven alliterations of Sir Thomas Browne. But in those days popular literature was mainly written in verse; the number of poetry books printed was greater than that of prose works, and the conditions of authorship carried all professional writers into composition for the stage. Prose became the province of the cultured amateur, the scholar, and the controversialist. Sidney's group, Harvey, Spenser, and the rest, contemned drama because it had to please the groundlings on pain of ceasing to exist; and literature, they held, had no concern with the commonalty. Harvey wished

to Latinise the vulgar English, and Spenser and Sidney complied so far as to experiment with Latin metres; but their good sense as artists prevailed. Verse they understood; prose unhappily they did not understand. They all knew Latin as those only know a language who use it in the business of their life—as Sidney knew it, who conducted much of his correspondence in Latin, and as Milton knew it, who wrote in it Cromwell's despatches. Moreover England in the seventeenth century was fiercely occupied with theological controversies, which involved recourse to Latin diction and Latin models at every turn. Thus, written for a limited audience and written by Latinists who set an exaggerated value upon the Roman literature, the language was warped from its natural directness and wrapped up in a convolution of relative clauses. If the Restoration did nothing else for England, at least it clarified the language. The stage again became popular, but the dramatists were members of a society guided by France in its tone and sympathies at a time when the French literature was at the height of its perfection. French models marred our poetry, but they made our prose. Congreve and Wycherly set an example of lucid, terse, and pointed English in dialogue, which Dryden applied to the more formal manner of his critical discourses; and the thing was done. At last men wrote as they spoke, and wrote well.

For, after all, that is, in our opinion, the root of the matter. Poetry, by its artificial and arbitrary rhythm, is rightly marked off from the language of common life; but a man who has an argument to enforce, or a series of facts to relate, ought never in his argument or his relation to lose touch with spoken speech. Plato demonstrated once and for all that the utmost elaboration and the utmost perfection of style may be attained, and yet that the speaking voice may be audible throughout, with its variety of cadence and inflection, its natural emphasis, and its easy transitions of tone. Johnson is an extreme case, but a conclusive one; for no one ever talked in the least like 'Rasselas'—let us set this down to the credit of humanity—but he learnt as he went on, and in the 'Lives of the British Poets' you can hear Johnson declaiming with the very accent that Boswell has immortalised. In Goldsmith, the fine flower of these later eighteenth-century writers, there is scarcely a sentence that would sound pedantic in conversation; and in Burke it is never the eloquence of a book that we hear, but the speech of an orator. Burke's style is consummate for

written oratory ; but it appears that he had the fault of speaking as he wrote. The written word ought always to suggest the spoken, the spoken utterance should never suggest the written. Speech is the model, not the copy. And the best prose style, in our judgement, is one that contains no sentence which might not conceivably have been spoken on some appropriate occasion, yet that differs continually from speech. It must be closer in grain, more sharply cut and pointed, for it has to dispense with all the aids of gesture and of varied pace in delivery ; yet the difference should hardly be definable. No man could have commanded a hearing who spoke as Milton wrote ; and for that reason we should characterise his prose treatises as magnificent examples of mistaken prose. Laden as the style is with every wealth of illustration, every sonority of diction, every splendour of imagery, it is like an army encumbered with baggage, too unwieldy to strike. Compare his method in controversy with Swift's, and it is the difference between an Oriental host passing in opulent but disorderly parade and the lean, grey lines of a modern corps, stripped of every encumbrance, supple and springy in movement, yet rigid as their steel.

The prose of Queen Anne's day offers undoubtedly the classical type of English prose ; whether, in using the word classical, we mean—as M. Brunetière has recently declared we ought to—that at a certain period every language reaches its full and normal development, the acme of its growth, from which point it can change only for the worse, or whether we adopt the explanation of the term given by Professor Raleigh in his extraordinarily brilliant essay on style : ‘ Fixity in the midst of change, fluctuation at the heart of sameness, such is the estate of language. According as they endeavour to reduce letters to some large haven and abiding-place of civility, or prefer to throw in their lot with the centrifugal tendency and ride on the flying crest of change, are writers dubbed classic and romantic.’ The centripetal tendency was strong in Queen Anne's day. Men endeavoured to work to a common standard, and would have keenly resented the theory, had any one then produced it, that every writer should in so far as possible be a law to himself—that he should make the utmost of individual differences between him and his neighbours rather than seek to lessen them. Anarchy in thought was impossible when men almost deified reason, that abstract faculty which is the common meeting-ground of human intelligences.

Good sense was their canon, and in its application it favoured the impersonal. ‘Style,’ says Professor Raleigh, ‘is gesture’—it is the way in which personality expresses itself. But by the ordinary rules of good breeding we are taught to subdue our gestures, to keep them within bounds, and whatever we do to do it in the closest possible conformity to a certain accepted type. That was practically the theory of the eighteenth century about writing. The writer was urged rather to avoid blemishes than to seek after qualities. Lucidity was their ideal, and they attained it by confining their attention to what could be analysed—the operations of the mind—and neglecting what could only be suggested, the sense impressions. The result was a curiously impersonal view of life, and a curiously colourless style. The classics, Swift and Addison, Fielding and Goldsmith, were classics without knowing it; they wrote without affectation, and they wrote with their eye on the object. M. Brunetière declares, and we incline to agree with him, that their excellence was largely accidental; they were born at the happy moment, when the language in its growth had just attained perfection. Men coming after them saw, as Johnson did, that it was impossible to write better English than Addison’s, and prescribed it as a model. Thus English prose enters upon a period in which it seems as if every writer were watching himself very closely not to transgress some convention; and the result was an entire loss of that directness and simplicity which characterised the work of Swift and Addison, and the introduction of a mechanical artifice of diction. Sir Henry Craik, in the introduction to his new volume of ‘English Prose Selections,’ acutely observes that this infected even the greatest of all romantics—Walter Scott himself. Passage after passage could be produced from the Waverley novels where Scott, without any reason, employs words and phrases which neither he nor any sensible man would use in that connexion in talk.

But the reaction against the abstract classical spirit had seized upon poetry, and was not long in making itself felt in the other medium. Lamb, that gentle rebel, was the first to give to English prose a new turn. Few writers have had a mannerism more strongly marked, but it was a peculiarity that could not be reproduced save by a mind steeped, as Lamb’s was, in the phrases and feelings of a half-forgotten literature. It is odd that his innovation should have awokened no protest; but perhaps the truth is that the battle had been fought, and won, in the field of poetry.

Classicism was not defunct, but romanticism had at least established its right to existence, and Lamb was allowed to be as centrifugal (to retain Mr. Raleigh's metaphor) as he chose. The romantic poets, however, in their prose were rigorously classical, and Coleridge carries on the eighteenth-century tradition without a break. But the same group gave to the world another prose-writer besides Lamb, and one whose example was of more general utility. William Hazlitt has received his due as a writer from Stevenson, and from Stevenson only ; his influence has made itself felt late indeed, but efficaciously, in affording a model to the man who has done more than any other in this century towards a deliberate remoulding of prose style. Stevenson owed much to Hazlitt, and frankly acknowledged his indebtedness. Hazlitt is no votary of abstract reason ; his way is to insist upon the personal aspect of every argument, and in his frank egotism he goes back to the example of Montaigne. Prose in his hands takes a warmth and colour from the fact that he persistently deals, not with abstractions, but with sensations, and directly the testimony of the senses comes to be heard the resources of language are taxed to afford a corresponding vivacity of impression. Here, for example, is the description which he wrote of Coleridge :—

'I may say of him here that he is the only person I ever knew who answered to the idea of a man of genius. He is the only person from whom I ever learnt anything. There is only one thing he could learn from me in return, but *that* he has not. He was the first poet I ever knew. His genius at that time (1798) had angelic wings and fed on manna. He talked on for ever. His thoughts did not seem to come with labour and effort, but as if borne on the gusts of genius and as if the wings of his imagination lifted him off his feet. His voice rolled on the ear like the pealing organ, and its sound alone was the music of thought.'

There is about that passage a combination of bold, almost poetical imagery, with a curious *naïveté* of self-assertion, and the eighteenth century would have repudiated the one as strongly as the other. Hazlitt's is the method which has prevailed, obeying the centrifugal tendency of which Mr. Raleigh speaks. But Hazlitt was a forerunner, so far ahead that he did not live to see even the advance guard following in his track, and he died to all seeming without disciples. About the same period two other men were writing, each a master of style, and each an innovator, but never destined to found a sect. Landor, by the mere austerity of his genius, repelled imitators, and, frankly, we cannot think that the

public judgement erred in neglecting him. His style is dignified, no doubt, but it has the dignity, not of life, but of death. It does not convey the impress of a personality; rather it suggests always the voice proceeding from behind a mask, as of a gentleman who could not afford simply to be himself, but was statuesque in his attitudes of set purpose. De Quincey, another of the men who have been praised without limit, is of a very different order from Landor; there is no artificial air of restraint about him, rather a too profuse overflow of words. In a few purple patches he attained admirable results, but his work, if it be judged by the standard which we have suggested, can only merit condemnation. It smells of the lamp. All his studied rhapsodies are not poetry, and have not the rhythm of song; nor are they true prose, for they could never have been spoken by mortal lips to mortal ears; man is neither capable of such ingenuity nor of such tolerance. If De Quincey can boast of a disciple he must point—and it is no small claim—to the author of ‘Vivian Gray’ and ‘Tancred;’ but whatever quality we may select to consider admirable in those very interesting novels it will certainly not be the style. Good taste revolts against such bedizements as both De Quincey and Disraeli heaped upon their utterance.

But neither Lamb, Hazlitt, Landor, nor De Quincey produced any perceptible effect upon the general average of prose-writing during the first forty years of the century. That was the great period of the more serious reviews, when an immense part of the available literary ability was devoted to anonymous writing. Now, anonymous writers always tend, both by design and by the unconscious sinking of their own personality, to an impersonal manner. Among them the manner of the eighteenth century flourished, and the new writer who was destined to be accepted for a while as the authentic representative of English style at its best was recruited into their band from his earliest appearance. Macaulay is a person who can never be spoken of without respect in this Review, and scarcely without enthusiasm. He carried the manner with which others were working to the utmost perfection of which it was capable. The journalist cannot have a better model, for the object of journalism is to be effective, to gain a hearing in a shouting crowd; but, considered as an artist, Macaulay leaves a great deal to be desired. As Mr. Ker points out in his prefatory note to the ‘Selections,’ he ‘was little of an

innovator. ' His fondness for short, abrupt sentences does not always conceal the model on which they are formed. ' His short sentences are generally clauses in an old-fashioned antithetic sentence.' That is to say, he arranged the old thing in a new way by a lavish use of full stops, so as to make it more telling to the eye. He heightened the emphasis of each individual part in his utterance; but he added to English style nothing personal to himself; he never really set his stamp upon the language. You hear in his pages a man talking well, certainly, but a man talking too loud and always in the same tone. He has an infinite deal to say that is well worth hearing, but the gesture—to borrow from Mr. Raleigh again—is monotonously repeated; the emphasis wearies. He does not know the value of reserve, of the thing hinted or only half said; he cannot render the fine shades which in talk are given, not by words, but by tone; and he has not the art to take the reader into his confidence, to share a point of view with him. He must always be instructing, and his voice has the strident insistence of a teacher's harangue. He is a lecturer, not an acquaintance, and when we have read Macaulay we know his facts, his opinions, and his prejudices, but we know very little of the man himself. He is for us almost as impersonal as the 'Times'; he is a name associated with a group of beliefs and a certain propaganda, a storehouse of information, but not a living human being.

Yet there is no writer of this century who has been so much imitated, and with reason, for none is so imitable. No one, for instance, tried to copy Sir William Napier, for Napier's way of writing was the direct outcome of his temperament and experience; it would have been intolerable in any one else. The rattle of arms is heard all through it, and the spirit of military pride breathes in every sentence, chivalrous and defiant. Napier stands alone, but he stands as one of the great masters of style; only, the gesture which becomes him is appropriate to very few in a generation; the rest of us cannot be heroes. If we were to select from Sir Henry Craik's list the men who have afforded to the world an example of what English style may be and ought to be, in its perfect adaptation to all the needs of life that have to be chronicled or commented upon, we should name without hesitation Thackeray and Newman. Newman's writing derives straight from the fountain head of English; he is full in the main current of prose style, in every sense a classic. Mr. Beeching, himself a master of graceful English,

in his prefatory note has written so admirably that one can do no better than quote him :—

' Newman's prose style may be compared in its distinguishing quality to the atmosphere. It is at once simple and subtle ; it has vigour and elasticity ; it penetrates into every recess of its subject ; and it is transparent, allowing each subject it touches to display its own proper colour. The comparison holds also in two points, the apparent emptiness of its successes and the fact that in consequence its virtue attracts little notice. That this appearance of inevitableness and spontaneity is nevertheless not entirely a result of chance or happy instinct we may learn, if we need the lesson, from a letter of Newman's, in which he says—

" 'It is simply the fact that I have been obliged to take great pains with everything I have written, and I often write chapters over and over again, besides innumerable corrections and interlinear additions. I am not stating this as a merit, only that some persons write their best first, and I never do However I may truly say I have never been in the practice, since I was a boy, of attempting to write well, or to form an elegant style. I think I have never written for writing's sake, but my one and single desire and aim has been to do what is so difficult, viz. to explain clearly and exactly my meaning ; this has been the whole principle of all my corrections and rewritings.' "

Newman's example is invaluable, and one cannot lay too much stress on the fact that by his own avowal style came to him unsought, a superadded grace—a grace which has all the more power to please because it is so obviously unstudied. The art of which Professor Raleigh writes—which, indeed, he practises to admiration—of evoking a beautiful procession of words that go upon their way singing, is less fine than this. In a sense the less a prose-writer thinks about words the better. The main thing in prose-writing is the art of expression, of delineating the event or the thought. Words, we repeat, are not and should not be paramount in the estimation of a prose-writer. They are subservient to the meaning, and the most perfect prose style is the one which calls least attention to itself. Thackeray, of nineteenth-century writers, alone approaches Newman in this respect : it is difficult to describe his manner, which can handle the lightest or the gravest subject with equal ease and equal fitness, and never betray a trace of effort. How near it is to the historically classic models he has proved by the extraordinary *tour de force* accomplished in 'Esmond,' where the very speech of Queen Anne's day is suddenly resuscitated. For, if a passage of 'Esmond' be examined carefully it is surprising to see how few are the little tricks

of expression by which the illusion of unfamiliarity is supported. Thackeray disguises his own writing by a trifling archaism or two, as a man might alter his face by putting on a false moustache; but the light in the eyes, the movement of the features, the contour of the whole, is unaltered. In this extract from the great scene between the two Esmonds and the Pretender at Castlewood there is nothing that might not have been written by Swift or Steele; yet set aside one or two uses of the historic present, half a dozen discarded verb forms, and you have a masterpiece of contemporary English prose:—

“If your Majesty will please to enter the next apartment,” says Esmond, preserving his grave tone, “I have some papers there which I would gladly submit to you, and by your permission I will lead the way;” and taking the paper up, and backing before the Prince with very great ceremony, Mr. Esmond passed into the little chaplain’s room, through which we had just entered into the house. “Please to set a chair for his Majesty, Frank,” says the Colonel to his companion, who wondered almost as much at this scene, and was as much puzzled by it, as the other actor in it. Then going to the crypt over the mantelpiece, the Colonel opened it and drew thence the papers which so long had lain there.

“Here, may it please your Majesty,” says he, “is the patent of marquis sent over by your Royal Father at St. Germain to Viscount Castlewood, my father; here is the witnessed certificate of my father’s marriage to my mother, and of my birth and christening. I was christened of that religion of which your sainted sire gave all through life so shining an example. These are my titles, dear Frank, and this what I do with them; here go baptism and marriage, and here the marquisate and the august sign manual with which your predecessor was pleased to honour our race;” and as Esmond spoke he set the papers burning in the brazier. “You will please, Sir, to remember,” he continued, “that our family hath ruined itself by fidelity to yours: that my grandfather spent his estate and gave his blood and his son to die for your service; that my dear lord’s grandfather (for lord you are now, Frank, by right and title too) died for the same cause; that my poor kinswoman my father’s second wife, after giving away her honour to your wicked, perjured race, sent all her wealth to the King, and got in return that precious title that lies in ashes and this inestimable yard of blue ribbon. I lay this at your feet and stamp upon it; I draw the sword and break it and deny you; and had you completed the wrong you designed us, by Heaven I would have driven it through your heart, and no more pardoned you than your father pardoned Monmouth.”

And yet the manner is not impersonal. Nearly all the words that Thackeray uses might have been used by almost anybody else, but there is no writer whose natural voice

is more unmistakeable. He is as easy to recognise as Carlyle, though with Carlyle the centrifugal force whirls us to the very outermost limits of the circle within which speech can revolve and continue to be known for English. There is no use in discussing a manner which happily no one any longer imitates. A personality so abnormal in any way could hardly find expression in the ordinary method, but let it be observed that what Carlyle has expressed chiefly is himself. Not of his style could it be written that it 'allows 'each object it touches to display its own proper colour.' The naked truth which he was for ever threatening to loose upon the universe comes before us so heaped upon with the rags and tatters of a windy eloquence that we can scarcely tell which end of her is uppermost. But for all that the style is a style, the 'voice gesture,' to quote Mr. Raleigh, of a man, and therefore infinitely preferable to the manner of many other writers whose frigid sentences Sir Henry Craik thinks it worth while to reproduce—of Grote, for instance, or of Miss Martineau. In Carlyle's pages you can at least always hear 'the Annandale voice golleying at them.' In Macaulay you hear a man talking, no doubt, but a man talking like a book—as, indeed, by all accounts, Macaulay never failed to do. But these precise and academic ladies and gentlemen would never lead you to remember that behind the hand that held the pen there was a soul to be saved or a body to be burned. What in the world does Sir Henry Craik want with seven pages of extracts from Thomas Chalmers and seven more from Henry Mansel? The book would be far better wanting them. On the other hand its completeness and representative character are sadly marred by the omission of Ruskin and of Kinglake. For this, Sir Henry Craik cannot be blamed, since the scheme of the work admitted only extracts from dead writers. But it is none the less unhappy, for Ruskin at his best is incomparable. His best is to be found, not in the long involved sentences, wonderful though they were, which he deliberately modelled upon Barrow and Jeremy Taylor, but in the passages where he has a thing to say, a message to deliver, and he sets it forth with the incisive directness of witty and pregnant speech. No man knows better the value of plain words; no man is better able to startle a torpid mind into activity. But in his discipleship to Carlyle he did not escape the affectation of strangeness, and he is too prone to seek for emphasis by a strained use of language, and to fall into mannerisms. The adverb

'entirely'—'entirely good,' 'entirely beautiful,' 'entirely admirable'—becomes a sort of King Charles's Head in his pages, and one resents it. And these tricks of manner, contortions of gesture, are precisely the things which the unwise notice and imitate. But Ruskin and Carlyle lie out of the common track; their manner is not for ordinary uses. As we said of Napier, the gesture that becomes them would misbecome us; much emphasis may be pardoned to a prophet. Sir Henry Craik's other omission would be more lamentable if we were considering his book as a collection of models. As an artist in style Kinglake can produce the thing of all others which most imperatively demands perfection in writing—a book of travel, dealing with countries which cannot afford any startling novelty to interest us by the bare recital, which are only a little stranger than those which we habitually visit, yet which are strange enough easily to encumber the narrative with a mass of explanations. 'Eothen' is a book of description and comment, relying for its charm not upon the intrinsic interest of the thing described, but upon the vividness of presentiment and the individual turn of the observation. Take, for example, this passage:—

'We heard at a little distance the brawling of a rivulet, and on the banks of this it was determined to establish our bivouac. We soon found the stream, and following its course for a few yards came to a spot which was thought to be fit for our purpose. It was a sharply cold night in February, and, when I dismounted, I found myself standing on some wet, rank herbage that promised ill for the comfort of our resting-place. I had bad hopes of a fire, for the pitchy darkness of the night was a great obstacle to any successful search for fuel, and, besides, the trees or bushes would be so full of sap, in this early spring, that they would not easily burn. However we were not likely to submit to a dark and cold bivouac without an effort, and my fellows groped forward through the darkness till, after advancing a few paces, they were happily stopped by a complete barrier of dead, prickly bushes. Before our swords could be drawn to reap this welcome harvest it was found, to our surprise, that the fuel was already hewn, and strewed along the ground in a thick mass. A spot for the fire was found with some difficulty, for the earth was moist and the grass high and rank. At last there was a clicking of flint and steel, and presently there stood out from the darkness one of the tawny faces of my muleteers, bent down to near the ground, and suddenly lit up by the glowing of the spark which he courted with careful breath. Before long there was a particle of dry fibre or leaf that kindled to a tiny flame; then another was lit from that, and then another. Then small crisp twigs, little bigger than bodkins, were laid athwart the glowing fire. The swelling cheeks of the muleteer, laid level with the earth,

blew tenderly at first, then more boldly, and the young flame was daintily nursed and fed, and fed more plentifully till it gained good strength. At last a whole armful of dry bushes was piled up over the fire, and presently, with a loud, cheery crackling and crackling, a royal, tall blaze shot up from the earth, and showed me once more the shapes and faces of my men, and the dim outlines of my horses and mules that stood grazing hard by.'

That presents at once, not a picture, but the scene itself with the ripple and movement of life over it; it calls up magically the physical sensations, the excitement which every one can enter into, over a business which, one would say, has no excitement so strong as to be communicable by recital. Yet, in spite of the deft trick of words, here and there almost fanciful—‘the glowing of the spark which he ‘courted with careful breath’—the whole thing is in the key of ordinary talk. Further on, when style has to be put to graver purposes, and there is the ugly story to tell of plague in an Eastern city, one cannot sufficiently admire the art which, without bating one jot of due seriousness, still maintains the same equable utterance, and is never tempted into rhetoric, though rendering with the same fulness every detail of the impression. It might, perhaps, be urged that here was Kinglake’s snare when he came to work in a larger field. His passion for physical realisation, his study of closeness to the very motion of life, led him in later years to devote a whole large volume to the description of one battle, and, as his critics have insisted, to lose the whole in the parts. Froude, divided by a greater tract of time from the events of which he treated, was under no such temptation, and in the historical manner Froude’s mastery is unchallenged. Here again you have the living voice always recognisable, yet infinitely various, altering its tone with the changes of the recital, but never straining beyond its compass. The movement of the words is supple, free, unconfined, yet governable; and the style never gets between you and the object. Froude’s merit cannot be shown by quotation of an extract: the virtue of his writing is that it carries you along easily from page to page, from chapter to chapter, and he excels in the summary treatment and grouping of events. Nothing could be more entralling narrative than his story of the Spanish Armada, so succinct and yet so full and moving. If one observes it closely perhaps the effect of so many short sentences—which are really short, disjointed statements, not clauses in a period, like Macaulay’s—leads the ear to desire some relief. In

this respect, and in this alone, it varies materially from the manner of Swift or Addison; even Gulliver rounds his periods a little more smoothly. But, take it upon the whole, the tale is told as few men could tell it, and told in English perfectly pure and natural, which conveys in every phrase the accent of a highly cultivated man, yet is entirely exempt from the least suspicion of pedantry or affectation.

It is not ten years since this narrative was written, and long before that an ideal of English writing wholly incompatible with Froude's had taken hold of the younger generation. Stevenson in 1882 caught the ear of the public with a romance, and the attention of the literary world was attracted to the fact that a new writer possessed a style the like of which had scarcely been known before in English. If 'Treasure Island' was a narrative apparently simple as Defoe's there were passages in its author's earlier writings—in 'Virginibus Puerisque' and in the various studies of travel, 'Through the Cevennes' and the rest—as elaborate and as intricate in their harmony as any that the seventeenth century could show, yet moulded in a simpler and more graceful structure. What was more, this writer was a theorist in style; a self-conscious student of his work, who had set himself deliberately by long study and imitation to learn the craft of words; and who was continually disposed to discuss for the world's benefit the mystery of the craft which he practised.

Since then no writer of any considerable mark has appeared in whom one cannot trace the influence either of Stevenson or Stevenson's master, for the world owes to Stevenson this double debt, that beyond his own literary achievement he did more than any other ten men to secure for George Meredith the recognition which for thirty years had been denied him. But no doubt the change in style is not due to one man only; it is part of a general alteration in our attitude towards art. The world has become enamoured of individuality, of the vivacity of personal impressions. It is anxious that an artist should see things in a way unmistakeably his own, and should represent them in a manner that is admired for its unlikeness to that of his predecessors. Side by side with this increasing assertion of the individual experience there has gone an increasing interest in the purely technical qualities of artistic work. A certain school of art critics inclines to judge all painters exclusively, or at least chiefly, by the vigour or elegance of their manipulation, and reduces painting to a question of

brush work. The result has been that self-conscious style of handling in which the artist seems to challenge attention not so much for the landscape or portrait as for the ingenious manner in which he has applied his paint. There is no doubt that Stevenson's critical writings have done much to produce a similarly self-conscious method of expression in literature. He divides prose style into four elements—the logical evolution of thought; the apt choice of words; rhythm, the artistic disposing of longs and shorts; and, lastly, the combining of single sounds, vowel or consonantal, not merely in alliteration, but according to what he calls certain ancient harmonies in nature. Now all these four elements have been present more or less, consciously or unconsciously, to the mind of every good writer. But with such writers as those of the eighteenth century logical arrangement has been paramount; Stevenson elevated the other considerations to a parity with it, and later writers have made rhythm and sound predominate considerably over mere sense. Further, the apt choice of words used to mean selecting the word which was recognised as correct and which could not shock good taste; Stevenson set himself with the most deliberate care to pick the word which should render something of the crudity of the original impression and administer a kind of shock to the sensibility. The other two elements—rhythm and alliteration, assonance or consonance—he insisted upon in his earlier and more decorated writings as scarcely any one had done before; and by doing so he set the example of divorcing prose style from the standard of ordinary speech. One would call Stevenson a euphuist undoubtedly were it not that in his novels he showed himself the possessor of a prose style plain even to baldness, where these subtle harmonies were concealed as carefully as they had been elaborately paraded in those essays where his main object had been to weave a beautiful and intricate pattern of words. Yet even in narrative too sometimes, as in 'The 'Ebb Tide,' he adopted what he himself has called a 'violent and alembicated style;' and upon the whole it must be set down against Stevenson that he did something to confuse the frontiers of prose and poetry. One finds, for instance, Mrs. Meynell, whom many critics have hailed as the best essayist since the author of 'Virginibus Puerisque,' not only praising the 'perpetual slight novelty' which Aristotle recommends for poetic language, but exemplifying it in

her diction. We quote from an essay in her book ‘The Colour of Life.’

‘Now and then, at regular intervals of the summer, the suburb springs for a time from its mediocrity; but an inattentive eye might not see why, or might not seize the cause of the bloom and of the new look of humility and dignity that makes the road, the rise, and the villas seem suddenly gentle, gay, and rather shy.

‘Nevertheless the little, common, prosperous road has bloomed, you cannot tell how. It is unexpectedly liberal, fresh, and innocent. The soft garden winds that rustle its shrubs are, for the moment, genuine.

‘Another day and all is undone. The rise is its daily self again—a road of flowers and foliage that is less pleasant than a fairly well built street. And if you happen to find the men at work on the retransformation you become aware of the accident that made all this difference. It lay in the little border of wayside grass which a row of public servants—men with spades and a cart—are in the act of tidying up. Their way of tidying it up is to lay its little corpse all along the suburban roadway, and then to carry it away to some parochial dust heap.

‘But for the vigilance of vestries grass would reconcile everything. When the first heat of the summer was over a few nights’ rain altered all the colour of the world. It had been the brown and russet of drought—very beautiful in landscape, but lifeless; it became a translucent, profound, and eager green. The citizen does not spend attention upon it.’

This is no extreme example of Mrs. Meynell’s style, which, indeed, is never extravagant, though sometimes it requires a sympathetic reader. ‘The nimble art of Japan,’ she says somewhere, ‘is unessential; it may last or perish, ‘may settle or be fanned away.’ The uses of the words ‘nimble’ and ‘unessential’ are here, of course, highly esoteric; the Philistine cannot fairly be expected to understand. Even in her charming remarks about the grass there is a tinge of ultra-refinement, a delicate indication of superior culture that shows itself in the vocabulary. It is a trifle apparent at the very start in the word ‘mediocrity;’ nor would any Philistine have thought of calling the road ‘shy’ or ‘liberal.’ ‘Parochial’ has a pretty accent of scorn; and the citizen, if by some unforeseen accident he read Mrs. Meynell, would become what Stevenson calls a ‘staring ‘burgess’ at sight of the locution ‘eager green.’ However he would conclude very wisely that Mrs. Meynell was a clever woman, but that he could not always understand what she was driving at. We do not wish to make the parochial ratepayer the arbiter of fitness in literature; we only seek to emphasise the fact that Stevenson brought

into general acceptance a kind of euphuism which answered excellently for the uses of the essay—a form of literature in which style and diction is really of paramount importance. History, it appears, has declared a divorce from literature, and has become a department of science. Mr. Lecky, who belongs to Froude's generation, still writes excellently, though he cannot rank among the great artists in style; and Mr. Balfour is at least a stylist among politicians. But the prose literature of to-day which has claims to be taken seriously consists largely in compositions where words have almost the importance that we assert for them in poetry. What Mr. Le Gallienne, Mr. Max Beerbohm, and sundry others have to say is perhaps no very great matter, but it cannot be denied that they say it prettily. And about the same time as Stevenson began to write Mr. Pater was publishing his ‘Studies in the History of the Renaissance,’ which were for a time acclaimed as a genuine masterpiece. His was a style which scarcely concealed the writer's effort in weaving long-drawn-out sentences modulated with a very delicate and subtle balance; the periods moved gingerly, parading the graces of a minuet. No utterance could have been less natural, and Mr. Pater set the example, which Professor Raleigh applauds, of Quixotic endeavours to restore old words to their pristine splendour and freshness. The vocabulary which he affected became the mark of a sect, and had the misfortune to be made ridiculous. The truth is that while Stevenson's style was the expression of an extremely vigorous personality Mr. Pater's was not; a sickly air pervades his pages. Yet no one with a feeling for literature would refuse admiration to such a passage as this comment or rhapsody upon Leonardo's picture ‘La Gioconda’ in the Louvre:—

‘The presence that thus rose so strangely beside the waters is expressive of what in the ways of a thousand years man had come to desire. Here is the head upon which all “the ends of the world are come,” and the eyelids are a little weary. It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions. Set it for a moment beside one of those white Greek goddesses or beautiful women of antiquity, and how would they be troubled by this beauty, into which the soul with all its maladies has passed? All the thoughts and experience of the world have etched and moulded there, in that which they have of power to refine and make expressive the outward form, the animalism of Greece, the lust of Rome, the reverie of the Middle Ages with its spiritual ambition and imaginative loves, the return of the Pagan world, the sins of the Borgias. She is older than the rocks

among which she sits; like the vampire she has been dead many times and learned the secrets of the grave; and has been a diver in deep seas, and keeps their fallen day about her; and trafficked for strange webs with Eastern merchants; and, as Leda, was the mother of Helen of Troy, and, as St. Anne, the mother of Mary; and all this has been to her but as the sound of lyres and flutes, and lives only in the delicacy with which it has moulded the changing lineaments and tinged the eyelids and the hands. The fancy of a perpetual life, sweeping together ten thousand experiences, is an old one; and modern thought has conceived the idea of humanity as wrought upon by and summing up in itself all modes of thought and life. Certainly Lady Lisa might stand as the embodiment of the old fancy, the symbol of the modern idea.'

Mr. W. B. Yeats, who is as fine an artist in prose as he is in verse, owes much to Mr. Pater, though he writes, to our thinking, a deal better, because in a more natural and spontaneous manner than the author of '*Marius*.' But Mr. Yeats is essentially esoteric, and no one would go out to cope with the bustle of life armed with so elaborate and delicate an instrument as this particular manner. The novel, which occupies nearly the whole field of prose literature at the present day, demands stronger tools, and it is in the work of the most promising novelists that Stevenson's influence is most perceptible. If it were only Stevenson's there would be no reason to object, for Stevenson's manner, though it is at times unduly elaborate, never runs into extravagance. Unfortunately there is also the example of Mr. George Meredith, whose enthusiastic disciple Stevenson avowed himself to be; but in the discipleship there was observed a reasonable moderation. He never in all his career of imitation attempted to copy Mr. Meredith's style. However within the last ten years the world at large has become aware of the fact that Mr. Meredith is the greatest living writer in English, that he has a power of creating characters and endowing them with the very atmosphere of life which can scarcely be matched since Shakespeare, and that he can in the same book—for instance, in '*Richard Feverel*'—pass from witty comedy to haunting romance or the most passionate drama. The world recognises and the world reads, but the saner part of it reads with grimaces. Surely since literature began so good a writer never had so bad a way of writing before. It is not merely esoteric, it is cryptic; even the simplest thing in the world is said with contortions. Here is a fair average example taken from '*One of Our Conquerors*:'

'A tucket of herald newspapers told the world of Victor's returning to his London. Pretty Mrs. Blathenoy was Nataly's first afternoon visitor, and was graciously received, no sign of inquiry for the cause of the lady's alacrity to greet her being shown. Colney Durance came in, bringing the rumour of an Australian *cuntatrice* to kindle Europe; Mr. Peridon, a seeker of tidings from the city of Bourges; Miss Priscilla Graves, reporting of Skepsey, in a holiday Sunday tone, that his alcoholic partner might at any moment release him; Mr. Septimus Barmby, with a hanged, heavy look, suggestive of a wharf-side crane swinging the ponderous thing he had to say. "I have seen Miss Radnor." "She was well?" the mother asked, and the grand basso pitched forth an affirmative. "Dear, sweet girl she is!" Mrs. Blathenoy exclaimed to Colney. He bowed. "Very sweet. And can let fly on you, like a haggis, for a scratch."

Of course the reason why Mr. Meredith does not write simply is that his nature forbids him to see anything simply. Life is full of infinite complexity of tone and gesture, and he strains language in trying to reproduce what defies rendering. A fantastic imagination, too, prompts him at every turn with the wildest suggestions, revelling in the grotesque; and Mr. Meredith has never, as it should seem, troubled to convey his meaning to any mind but his own. He has obeyed every caprice of suggestion—and in a mind of endless fertility suggestions have swarmed—until every one of his books is a difficult jungle of ideas, while the heart of his poems is as inaccessible as the sleeping princess behind her fence of roses. We struggle on as best we may, knowing that the inability to say plainly what he means is part of Mr. Meredith's weird. But unhappily young men of talent observe the external characteristic of this manner and laboriously set to work to imitate—partly in honest endeavour, for Mr. Meredith has shown how the printed version of a dialogue may render not only the spoken words but something also of the significance of tone and gesture; but in great measure also out of sheer foppery and foolishness. It may not be entirely due to imitation; literary epidemics spread in the air, and men take them unconsciously. But whether of set purpose or not, a great many able writers at present write as if they were imitating Mr. Meredith. For instance, this is how Mr. Bernard Capes begins a story which is printed in 'Blackwood's Magazine' for September :—

'The triangle of grass, sunny and peaceful, in front of the "Dog and Crook" presented itself, one windless May evening of the year 1789, a very ideal stage for the pastoral play of changing horses. Change of any sort, however, seemed that thing most remote from pro-

bability, when suddenly the tap door of the tavern was kicked open from within, and there stepped hurriedly upon the scene—as if with some melodramatic consciousness of a cue just uttered—a man before whose onset tranquillity fled incontinent. This person's red face and injected eyes burnt like a brazier against the white-freckled wall of the house, as he stood for a moment struggling (not altogether successfully) to vindicate his independence of action, under the obvious apprehension of an assault in the rear. Nothing—during a period meanly bolstering to his pride—pursuing, he walked forth upon the green, certain muscles of the neck and shoulders that had suffered a sensory contraction relaxing as he moved. Arrived at a standpoint reasonable to apostrophe, he faced about and, smacking one great fist into the open palm of the other, had already indulged his fury with a single explosive monosyllable, when at the double sound—as if (to speak most ironically) an Eastern potentate had summoned a slave—the bar door flounced on its hinges a second time and a young woman came running across the grass and stopped in front of him, her comely elbows the indicators of a very seismic disturbance.

“ You are plain, George Battle,” screamed this new-comer, *in virulent reiteration, apparently, of grievances lately discussed.*

“ What if I be? ” said the man fiercely, but with a significant swerve in his voice.

‘ He was a presentable enough fellow, in fact, stubbornly knit, *on nodding terms with his youth*, a decent, temperate landlord and husband in his temperate moments.

‘ *The virago sniggered scornfully, all on the upper register.* Then she put her hands behind her back and catalogued his offences.’

We have made bold to indicate by italics the passages to which we take exception. But let us see if we cannot put the thing into other words. What happened outside the ‘Dog and Crook’? Why, this: Suddenly the tap door was kicked open from within, and a big man came out, very red in the face; he stopped for a moment outside the door, as if he expected some one to follow him. But, since nobody came, he walked on a few yards, then turned round, and, facing the house, smacked his fist into the palm of the other hand and swore. At the same instant, as if the sound had been a summons, the bar door was again flung open, and a young woman came out and stood in front of him, showing by the set of her elbows that she was in a violent temper. That is all. Does Mr. Capes gain much by his additions? Something, no doubt, but scarcely enough to compensate for the annoyance which is occasioned by his unnecessary violences of phrase. The mannerism is carried to such excess that it defeats its own purpose. For instance, ‘the bar door flounced on its ‘hinges’ is a graphic expression, but its effect is lost among

so many novelties. It appears to us that the use of 'the 'unexpected word' is being pushed so far that it becomes a positive terror. We expect it in every second sentence; we live in momentary terror of it. 'The virago sniggered 'scornfully, all on the upper register.' A sentence like that falls on the ears about as unexpectedly and as gratefully as the squeak of a slate pencil when a child is doing sums. Sooner or later it is bound to come, and it never fails of its effect. Is there really any taste which is gratified by such an intrusion of deliberate vulgarity and deliberate pedantry mixed together? It is worth remarking that the gentlemen who belong to the school of Mr. Meredith in style make short work of any considerations which might dictate euphony. The sentence which opens, 'Nothing—during a 'period meanly bolstering to his pride—pursuing,' is a perfect model of how not to write. It is clumsy in structure, it is made intolerable by four repetitions of the same ugly terminal sound, and it expresses a very simple fact in a roundabout and pedantic way. And all this comes of the fact that Mr. Capes is determined to tell his story in a way in which no other man would have told it. The same tendency manifests itself in a greater or lesser degree throughout the whole of contemporary literature. Mr. Raleigh, for instance, whose brilliant essay commands our warmest admiration, never sins against good sense, and is only too studious of harmony; but he also is a seeker after the strange word, a student of the bizarre. And, indeed, the more one reads of the best prose written nowadays—since Mr. Froude's death—the more one is inclined to regret the eighteenth-century manner, luminous, not coruscant, aiming above all things at suavity and sanity, which by its manly directness charmed the reader into a belief that he too might have written the same things in just the same way, instead of filling him with wonder (as Mr. Meredith does) how on earth any human being could have cemented words and ideas together into such a jewelled but bewildering mosaic.

- A.B.T. V.—1. *Bismarck: the Man and the Statesman.* Being the reflections and reminiscences of Otto Prince von Bismarck, written and dictated by himself after his retirement from office. Translated from the German under the supervision of A. J. BUTLER, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In two volumes. London: 1898.
2. *Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of his History.* Being a diary kept by Dr. Moritz Busch during twenty-four years' official and private intercourse with the great Chancellor. In three volumes. London: 1898.
3. *The Life of Prince Bismarck.* By WILLIAM JACKS, author of 'Robert Burns in Other Tongues,' a translation of 'Nathan the Wise,' &c. Glasgow: 1899.

Two men, during the last half of the nineteenth century, have won the highest reputations as statesmen from their abilities and from their achievements. Both of them were sprung from families of position, both served for a short time in the armies of their respective countries, both in their younger years occupied themselves with the management of their paternal estates, and obtained their first successes in agricultural pursuits; both were animated from the outset by a desire to effect the union and the independence of the race to which they belonged, both were ready to sacrifice everything to this object, both, in pursuit of it, displayed abilities of the highest order, courage which never failed, and an iron will which overcame all opposition. Finally, both achieved a success which far exceeded their own anticipations, for one of them—Count Cavour—changed the face of southern Europe by the creation of a united Italy; the other—Prince Bismarck—effected a greater alteration in northern Europe by the constitution of the German Empire.

If, however, there is much in these two men which naturally suggests comparison, there is much also which permits of contrast. In the first place, in carrying out his policy, Cavour always showed that he was an Italian first and a Piedmontese afterwards. He never hesitated to sacrifice the interests of his own country to those of his race. Bismarck, on the contrary, never forgot that he was a Prussian. From first to last he thought and maintained that the union and independence of Germany were to be worked out through the aggrandisement of Prussia. In the

next place, while Cavour was essentially the parliamentary statesman who admired and imitated Peel's conduct and policy, who tried to work by constitutional methods, and who never felt so strong as when the Legislature was at his back, Bismarck was the autocratic representative of an autocratic sovereign. The cause which he set out to win had, in his judgment, to be won by force. If the Legislature happened to agree with him, so much the better—for himself; if it differed from him, so much the worse—for the Legislature. He did not hesitate, over and over again, to force the hands of his sovereign, in whose rights he believed; he had much less scruple in ignoring the wishes of a Legislature which could claim no right divine to govern wrong.

In one other respect these two great men afford a sharp contrast. Cavour was struck down by death in the maturity of his powers, before the work which he accomplished was crowned by the cession of Venetia and the transfer of the Italian capital to Rome. Bismarck, on the contrary, survived his great victory by nearly twenty-eight years. During much of this time he remained the chief minister of Germany and the foremost statesman of the world. The services which he then rendered to his country were, in one sense, quite as great as those which he gave her in the hour of her trial and of her victory. The conclusion of the Triple Alliance was, in its way, almost as remarkable an achievement as the formation of the German Empire.

Of Cavour we already know nearly all that we are ever likely to learn. Of Bismarck we are gradually acquiring equally full knowledge. The publication of the books whose titles we have placed at the head of this article have undoubtedly increased our acquaintance with the great Chancellor. In reading, indeed, his own reflections and reminiscences, which have been translated with excellent skill by Mr. Butler, we are conscious of the feeling that the author, perhaps naturally enough, is not telling the whole story, but only that portion or version of it which he wishes us to know. Dr. Moritz Busch's book creates a very different impression. With the indiscretion, but without the humour, of a Boswell, he has revealed a great deal which his hero certainly would not have wished published. But his discursive and disconnected narrative fails to supply us with a complete picture either of the man or his policy. The defects of Dr. Busch are, to some extent, supplied by Mr. Jacks's conscientious labours. We can commend his

volume to English readers who desire to have a brief and intelligible account of the career and achievements of the great German Minister. But those who wish to go deeper into the subject must, we fear, concurrently address themselves to other works which have appeared, and are appearing, both in Germany and in other countries. In France, especially, capable historians and well-informed writers have been investigating, and are still commenting on, the events which led to the fall of the Second Empire. Their researches, of which we have freely availed ourselves in preparing this article, have largely added to our knowledge both of the man and of the time.

Otto von Bismarck was born at Schönhausen, in Brandenburg, on April 1, 1815. He was sprung from an old family. He said once of the Hohenzollerns, 'They are a Suabian family, no better than my own, and, if there is no divine commandment, no concern of mine.' He was educated at the Plahmann Institute at Berlin, where 'the régime was artificially Spartan,' and afterwards at Göttingen, where it is strange to find he was 'as thin as a knitting-needle,' and where, he tells us himself, he fought twenty-eight students' duels in three terms. After leaving the university he filled one or two minor appointments in the Prussian Civil Service and passed a short time in the army. Civil and military duties, however, proved equally tedious to him; and, readily complying in 1839 with his father's desire that he should take up the management of the family estates in Pomerania, he made up his mind 'to live and die in the country.' The life that he led there must have made most people think that he was more likely to die than live. It gained for him the nickname of 'Mad Bismarck.' 'The young frauleins and their mothers and cousins at the neighbouring country seats shuddered, while their fathers and uncles shook their heads, as they heard of extravagant drinking bouts, of floods of champagne and porter mixed in "war bowls," of furious rides, as if the Wild Huntsman were tearing past, of the routing up of guests by pistol-shots in the middle of the night, and of all kinds of mischief and wantonness perpetrated in audacious mockery of traditional usage.' But Bismarck bore a charmed life. He said in 1870 that he believed that he was within the mark in saying that he had fallen from horseback fifty times. Happily, perhaps; for him he found that country pursuits, diversified with mad frolics, were insufficient to absorb his entire energy. In 1847 he became an active member of the first Prussian Parliament, in which

he distinguished himself by an uncompromising defence of the rights of the Crown. In the same year he took a more important step in marrying Johanna von Putkamer. Her influence had a marked effect on his character. ‘ You can’t not imagine,’ he wrote, ‘ what that woman has made of me.’

The story goes that, on his wedding tour, at Venice, Bismarck made the acquaintance of his sovereign, Frederick William IV. The king gave a warm reception to ‘ the young country nobleman, who had strenuously defended ‘ the rights of the Throne in Parliament,’ and Bismarck thenceforward stood high in royal favour, and was rapidly promoted to positions of importance. In 1851 he was sent to Frankfort as envoy to the Diet; in 1852 he was promoted, during Count Arним’s illness, to the ‘ Diplomatic ‘ High School’ at Vienna; on Count Arnim’s recovery he returned to Frankfort, where he remained till 1859; early in that year he was transferred, against his own wish, to St. Petersburg, and in 1862 he was sent to Paris. The king’s high opinion of his abilities, which was marked by these successive appointments, was recorded, in 1852, in a letter to the Emperor of Austria :

‘ Your Majesty,’ he wrote, ‘ will thus make the acquaintance of a man who with us is honoured by many, and hated by some, because of his frank and chivalrous obedience, and his irreconcilable attitude towards the Revolution down to its roots. He is my friend and my loyal servant, and comes to Vienna with a fresh, lively, and sympathetic impress of my principles, my mode of action, my will, and, I may add, of my love towards Austria and your Majesty.’

During these years of preparation Bismarck constantly displayed the qualities and opinions for which he was afterwards distinguished. He bitterly resented, in 1848, Frederick William IV.’s ‘ softness ’ in recalling his troops from Berlin, instead of definitely crushing the Berlin rising. He approved, in 1849, the king’s resolution to refuse the crown of Germany, which was offered to him at Frankfort; he disliked ‘ the revolutionary or, at any rate, parliamentary source ‘ of the offer.’ He deplored, in 1850, the diplomatic defeat which Prussia sustained at Olmütz. But, at the strong request of the Government, whose representative assured him privately that the Prussian army was unprepared for war, he assisted to reconcile his party to the policy which he deplored. The task which he thus undertook, however, confirmed his opinion that it was the first duty of a Prussian statesman to provide the force which might

enable his country to play a worthier part in the future. The military power of Prussia, he thought, must be strengthened both for internal and for external reasons. For internal reasons: for the king should be free to act, and to assert his rights. For external reasons: for the voice of Prussia should be audible abroad; her authority should be felt in every part of Germany.

Two great wars in this period enabled Bismarck to explain the policy which he desired to pursue. In 1854, on the eve of the Crimean War, a treaty was concluded between Austria and Prussia by which Prussia pledged herself to concentrate 100,000 men, or, if necessary, 200,000 men—one-third of them in East Prussia and two-thirds of them at Posen and Breslau. It was the obvious object of this treaty to provide for the possible contingency of the German Powers joining the allies in the war. But Bismarck desired to use it as an expedient for raising Prussia out of a secondary position. He suggested to the king that, 'when Austria should call upon us to bring up our troops,' Prussia should at once move 100,000 men, or more, not to Posen or Breslau, but into Silesia—into a position whence they could 'with equal facility step over the frontier of either Russia or Austria.' France, he argued, absorbed in the Crimean War, was not in a position to threaten the western frontier; Austria had her available force 'nailed fast' in Galicia by the presence of a Russian army in Poland; and Prussia could survive the effects of a British blockade of her Baltic ports. Thus, from her central position in Silesia, equally threatening to Russia and Austria, Prussia might exercise a commanding influence, and earn for herself a position worthy of her past. Bismarck himself tells us that the king rejected this suggestion as beyond his power: 'My dear boy, that is all very fine, but 'it is too expensive for me. A man of Napoleon's kind can 'afford to make such master-strokes, but not I.'

After the war, M. de Moustier—the French Ambassador at Berlin—complained to Bismarck of the selfish policy of Prussia in holding aloof from the allies. 'Cette politique,' he said, with very little tact or taste, 'ya vous conduire à Jéna.' Bismarck at once replied, 'Pourquoi pas à Leipzig ou à Waterloo?' M. de Moustier did not live to see Sedan; but, as Foreign Minister of France in 1867, he must have had frequent occasion to recollect Bismarck's retort.

The same cynical indifference to the rights of the case

itself, and the same desire to win something for Prussia out of the difficulties of other nations, characterised the policy which Bismarck desired to pursue during the Franco-Austrian war of 1859. The German people, furions at the defeat of a German Power, were longing to march to the defence of Austria; and, as a matter of fact, the hasty conclusion of peace at Villafranca alone prevented the extension of the war to the Rhine. But Bismarck, who at the time was ambassador at St. Petersburg, took a wholly different view of the situation. ‘My idea’—so he wrote in his ‘Memoirs’—‘was that we ought to prepare for war, but at the same time send an ultimatum to Austria either to accept our conditions in the German question, or to look out for our attack.’ Thus, Bismarck clearly saw that Austria’s difficulty was Prussia’s opportunity; he plainly thought it folly to help a rival in her extremity without, at any rate, obtaining solid recompense for the assistance.

In fact, if throughout this period Bismarck’s domestic policy was inspired by a desire to increase the power of the Crown and to raise the strength of the army, his foreign policy was animated by a wish to regain the ground which had been lost at Olmütz, and to give Prussia the hegemony in Germany. This policy naturally brought him into collision, and at one time very nearly led to a duel, with Count Rechberg, the Austrian representative at Frankfort. How clearly, indeed, Bismarck already saw the coming struggle between Austria and Prussia may be inferred from another anecdote. During the Crimean War Bismarck happened to be present in uniform, and wearing decorations which had been conferred upon him for his services at the Diet, at a review of Bavarian troops. An Austrian officer, covered with medals, rode up to him and, pointing to the orders which Bismarck was wearing, said, ‘Well, Excellency, all these gained in the face of the enemy?’ ‘Certainly,’ retorted Bismarck, ‘in the face of the enemy here in Frankfort-on-Main.’

During these years, in which Bismarck was gaining experience of men and affairs, and in which Frederick William IV., who regarded him as his ‘foster-son,’ was training him for positions of still greater responsibility, he had been frequently spoken of for high political office at Berlin. Frederick William IV., however, hesitated to select as his minister a man whose outspoken language had made him unpopular with all parties, and who avowedly desired to break with the Revolution, and to govern by force. Bis-

marck—so the king wrote on a list of ministers submitted to him—was ‘only to be employed when the bayonet ‘ governs unrestricted ;’ or, as another version of the same story runs, Bismarck was a ‘Red Reactionary, with a scent ‘ for blood, to be used later.’ Bismarck himself, indeed, gave another reason for his exclusion from office. ‘The ‘ king looked upon me as an egg which he had laid and ‘ hatched out himself, and in cases of difference of opinion ‘ would have always had the feeling that the egg wanted to ‘ be cleverer than the hen.’ He added that his own views of foreign policy did not altogether coincide with those of his sovereign, and that the difficulty of being at the same time an obedient and responsible minister would have been greater under Frederick William IV. than it proved afterwards under the Emperor William.

Thus, during the reign of Frederick William IV., and during the regency of his brother—the future emperor Bismarck, whose experience and authority were constantly increasing, continued to occupy his successive embassies at Frankfort, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Paris. But, in 1862, internal difficulties in Prussia obviously necessitated the appointment of the strongest possible minister. The new king was impressed with the expediency of largely increasing the Prussian army, and the Chamber of Deputies year after year refused him the supplies which were necessary for the purpose. The king was so discouraged by these refusals that he told Bismarck, in September 1862, that he would not reign if he could not govern in a manner which satisfied his conscience. ‘I cannot do that if I am to rule ‘ according to the will of the present majority in Parliament, ‘ and I can no longer find any ministers prepared to conduct ‘ my Government without subjecting themselves and me to ‘ the parliamentary majority. I have, therefore, resolved to ‘ lay down my crown, and have already sketched out the ‘ proclamation of my abdication.’ Bismarck replied that his Majesty was aware that he was ready to enter the ministry; that he was certain that General von Roon would remain at his side; and that he did not anticipate any difficulty in securing suitable colleagues. He assured the king that he was prepared in office to carry out the reorganisation of the army; and that he would persist in this policy in opposition to the majority in Parliament and its resolutions. He added, it is ‘not a question of Liberal or Conservative of this or ‘ that shade, but rather of monarchical rule or parliamentary ‘ government. In this situation I shall, even if your Majesty

' command me to do things which I do not consider right,
 ' tell you my opinion quite openly ; but, if you finally persist
 ' in yours, I will rather perish with the king than forsake
 ' your Majesty in the contest with parliamentary government.'

These bold opinions—which induced the king to refrain from his contemplated abdication and to continue the struggle—were not uttered without premeditation. A few days before his interview with his king in Berlin, Bismarck had discussed the situation with M. de Persigny in Paris. He had agreed with M. de Persigny that the proper course for a Prussian minister was to resist the Chamber and disregard its decisions, holding the army ready for action. As the struggle turned on a point on which the army was interested, the minister could rely on its support ; and as, under the Prussian constitution, the rejection of a financial proposal by the Chamber did not mean a stoppage of supplies, but merely a reversion to the financial arrangements of the previous year, the Prussian Government would not be without means for continuing the contest.* It is remarkable that the emperor and empress, to whom this conversation was reported, blamed M. de Persigny for recommending a course which they thought dangerous to the Prussian Crown and calculated to provoke a convulsion in Germany.

Bismarck had not been many days in office before he had an opportunity of proving the zeal and boldness with which he was prepared to carry out his promise to support the king in his contest with the Chambers. His first speech aroused the attention of his own country and of Europe. 'Prussia,' so he argued, 'could no longer wear 'unaided on its long narrow figure the panoply which 'Germany required for its security ; that must be equally 'distributed over all German peoples. We should get no 'nearer the goal by speeches, associations, decisions of 'majorities : we should be unable to avoid a serious contest, 'a contest which could only be settled by blood and iron. 'In order to secure our success in this, the deputies must 'place the greatest possible weight of blood and iron in the 'hands of the King of Prussia, in order that, according to

* M. de Persigny, *more suo*, declares that he gave this advice to Bismarck, and that Bismarck warmly approved it. Five years afterwards Bismarck said to him with a laugh, 'Eh bien ! n'ai-je pas bien suivi vos leçons ?' and Persigny answered, 'Oui, mais je dois reconnaître que l'élève a singulièrement surpassé le maître.' (*Mémoires de Persigny*, p. 288.)

' his judgement, he might throw it into one scale or the 'other.' A few days afterwards he announced the decision of the Government 'to carry on the finance of the State 'without the conditions provided for in the constitution.' 'Conscious of its responsibility, it is equally conscious of 'the duties imposed on it by the country, and in this the 'Government finds its authority until it receives the legal 'confirmation to satisfy the expenses of the State, which are 'necessary for the developement of the welfare of the 'country.' The policy of blood and iron, in other words, was to be persisted in; and, whatever resolutions the Chambers might pass, the blood and iron, without which Prussia could not work out the future of Germany, were at any cost to be provided.

Bismarck himself admits that his policy was received with great disfavour. 'Some progressive journals hoped to 'see [him] picking oakum for the benefit of the State;' the House of Deputies, in February 1863, declared by a large majority that ministers were responsible with their persons and their fortunes for unconstitutional expenditure; and it was seriously suggested that, in order to avoid the confiscation of his estate, Bismarck should formally transfer it to his brother. The comic journals of Germany gave expression to the popular feeling. In one caricature, Bismarck is a ballet dancer pirouetting over half-a-dozen eggs on which are written, Right, Law, Reform, Constitution, Franchise. In another he has cut his finger—his own finger, be it observed—with a knife. And the legend underneath the picture is 'Blood and Iron.'*

The king himself was thoroughly alarmed at the uncompromising manner in which his minister was carrying out the promise which he had given. 'I can perfectly well see 'where all this will end. Over there, in front of the 'Opera House, under my windows, they will cut off your 'head, and mine a little while afterwards.' Bismarck quietly replied, 'Et après, Sire?' 'Après, indeed, we shall be 'dead,' answered the king. 'Yes,' said the minister, 'then 'we shall be dead; but we must all die sooner or later, and 'can we perish more honourably? I, fighting for my king's 'cause, and your Majesty sealing with your own blood your 'rights as king by the grace of God. . . . Your Majesty is

* Some similar caricatures are also mentioned by M. Benoist in his excellent appreciation of Bismarck, published in some recent numbers of the 'Revue des Deux Mondes.'

' bound to fight, you cannot capitulate ; you must, even at ' the risk of bodily danger, go forth to meet any attempt at ' coercion.' The king, as Bismarck spoke, 'grew more and ' more animated, and began to assume the part of an officer ' fighting for kingdom and fatherland.' Thenceforward the minister knew that he had only to appeal to his sovereign's strong sense of duty to convert hesitation and doubt into resolution and decision.

The contest with the Chamber over the Budget was complicated, in 1863, by a treaty made with Russia on the occasion of the Polish Rebellion. Bismarck, who cared very little about the Poles, but who cared a great deal to strengthen the hands of Prussia by a Russian alliance, concluded a military arrangement under which Russia was allowed to follow the insurgents into Prussian territory. The convention naturally aroused what Bismarck was pleased to call the 'unintelligent' indignation of the Liberals in the Diet; and further increased the minister's unpopularity. At that moment, however, attention was suddenly diverted from the Budget and from Poland to a question of more direct interest to Germany. For Frederick VII. of Denmark died on November 15, 1863, and his death brought at once the Schleswig-Holstein question to an issue.

This question, which had occupied diplomacy for years, can only be stated very briefly here. The present King of Denmark, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein Glucksburg, was undoubtedly heir through a female line to the Danish throne. But, if no other arrangement had been made, the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein would have passed to a younger branch, which descended in the direct male line to the House of Augustenburg. In order, however, to provide against the division of Danish territory, it was agreed at a conference in London, in 1850, that both duchies and kingdom should descend to Prince Christian of Glucksburg, and the arrangement was embodied in a treaty in 1852, by which the integrity of the Danish monarchy was maintained, but the rights of the German Confederation with respect to the duchies were reserved. The Danes, however, more intent on consolidating the monarchy than on observing the conditions of this reservation, had placed the kingdom and the duchy of Schleswig under a common constitution. When, therefore, on the death of the King of Denmark in 1863, Prince Christian of Augustenburg, alleging that he had been no party to the arrangements of 1850 and 1852, claimed the duchies, the

Germans were disposed to support his claim, and thus vindicate the right of Germany to German territory.

In the debates which took place on the subject in the Prussian Legislature, Bismarck resisted the almost unanimous desire of the Legislature to recognise Prince Christian's claim. The Government, he argued, should reserve to itself 'the decision as to the question if and 'when the Danish Government, through a nonfulfilment of 'their obligations, will put us into a position of renouncing 'the London Treaty.' The matter, he added, must be decided at Frankfort; and Prussia, in accordance with her position as a European Power and as a member of the Bund, would stand with special firmness for German rights in the duchies, and for her own self-respect in the council of the Great Powers. But in the more private atmosphere of the Cabinet he was already indicating a belief that the true solution of the question lay, not in the formation of a new German State under the prince, but in the acquisition of the duchies by Prussia. 'In a council held immediately 'after the death of Frederick VII. [he] reminded the king 'that every one of his immediate ancestors had won an 'increment of territory for the State. Frederick William IV. 'had acquired Hohenzollern and the Jahde District; Frederick 'William III., the Rhine Province; Frederick William II., 'Poland; Frederick II., Silesia; Frederick William I., Old 'Hither Pomerania; the Great Elector, Further Pomerania, '&c.; and he encouraged the king to do likewise!' The speech was received with consternation. The king seemed to imagine that Bismarck 'had spoken under the Bacchic 'influences of a *déjeuner*; ' the Crown Prince raised his hands to heaven, as if he doubted of the minister's sanity. But Bismarck was neither mad nor drunk. He was merely preparing his master for the ambitious policy which was the object of his life, the aggrandisement of Prussia in Germany.

Of these ambitious views, however, there was no trace in Bismarck's more public declarations. Intervention in the duchies, he saw clearly—if it occurred at all—must be made by Germany, and in preparing this intervention it was, above all things, necessary to carry Austria with him. It was only after war had been declared and concluded that his true intention became publicly visible. Austria insisted on the rights of the Prince of Augustenburg, and Prussia replied that the duchies were now German by right of conquest, and that she could only consent to acknowledge

the Prince of Augustenburg's claim on condition that some territorial concessions, including the harbour of Kiel, were made to Prussia, and that the absolute disposal of the land and sea forces of the duchies was assigned to the Prussian King.

It was thus already evident that, if one German question had been solved by the defeat of Denmark, another, and a much more serious, question had been raised by the differences between the two conquerors as to the disposal of the spoil. These differences were temporarily arranged at Gastein in the summer of 1865. It was then agreed that the government of Holstein should be handed over to Austria, and that of Schleswig to Prussia; that Lauenburg should be annexed to Prussia; that Kiel should be a German port under the control of Prussia; and that Prussia should have a right to connect the Baltic and the North Sea by a canal, and to construct railways through Holstein. These arrangements, reluctantly conceded by Austria, were obviously to the advantage of Prussia, and the king, recognising the obligations which his minister had conferred on him, raised him to the rank of a count.* It was perhaps, from Bismarck's point of view, of still more importance that the acquisition of new territory inspired the king with a desire for more. 'His frame of mind,' so Bismarck said, 'underwent a psychological change; he developed a taste for conquest.'

The king's pleasure was not shared by the Prussian Legislature. The Liberal majority of the Chamber naturally resented the autocratic policy of the minister. They supported the claims of the Prince of Augustenburg; they denied the right of the Crown to incorporate Lauenburg in Prussia without the approval of Parliament; they carried a resolution to that effect by a great majority; and the opposition was so pronounced that Bismarck did not even venture to ask for the supplies which he required.

* The manner in which Bismarck carried the treaty is worth recording. 'When I was negotiating the treaty of Gastein with Blome, I played quinze for the last time in my life. Although I had not played then for a long time, I gambled recklessly, so that the others were astounded. But I knew what I was at. Blome had heard that quinze gave the best opportunity of testing a man's character, and he was anxious to try the experiment on me. I thought to myself, I'll teach him. I lost a few hundred thalers. . . . But I got round Blome in that way, and made him do what I wanted. He took me to be reckless, and yielded.' (Busch, vol. i. p. 451.)

The hostility which Bismarck's policy provoked in Prussia was felt even more acutely in other countries. Austria, though agreeing to the arrangements of Gastein, could not help perceiving that all the substantial advantages of the war had fallen to Prussia, and that she had herself added new strength to her northern rival. Italy, which had seen a fresh opportunity for herself in the increasing estrangement of Austria from Prussia, was dissatisfied at a treaty which apparently had again brought the two German Powers into alliance; while France, not unnaturally dismayed at the aggrandisement of Prussia, and at an alliance between Austria and Prussia, complained openly that the Treaty of London had been torn up, and that the interests of Germany had been sacrificed to the sole profit of the two Powers who had been parties to the war.

These criticisms were all founded on the hypothesis that the agreement concluded at Gastein was likely to endure. The one man, however, who had no faith in its continuance was Bismarck himself. The ink was hardly dry on the document which he had inspired before he was actively preparing for the struggle with Austria which he had from the first regarded as inevitable. The future of Prussia—the future of Germany itself—was to be determined, so he had always predicted, by blood and iron; and the time was coming very near for the application of the remedy. In the previous October, when the differences between Austria and Prussia were becoming acute, General La Marmora, the Prime Minister of Italy, had declared in the Italian Chamber that, if war broke out, Italy would know how to take advantage of the struggle, and that Austria, were she well advised, would relieve herself of a serious danger by the cession of Venice. This speech convinced Bismarck that, in the event of war, he might hope to place Austria between two fires; and immediately before the Treaty of Gastein was signed he directed his ambassador at Florence to inquire what part Italy would take if war occurred.* General La Marmora with difficulty concealed the satisfaction which the inquiry gave him. He, however, coldly replied that if Prussia had a serious proposal to make, it should be carefully considered; but that she was entirely mistaken if she supposed that she could draw from him an unconsidered

* Nearly three years before, Bismarck had caused the same question to be put to Count Pasolini, who then held the Italian Foreign Office. (*Pasolini Memoirs*, p. 238.)

declaration, which could be used to Italy's disadvantage, and to Prussia's profit, at Vienna. In any case, Italy could do nothing without the assent of the Emperor of the French.

The annoyance which the French Government was displaying at the arrangements of Gastein, and the reluctance of the Italian Minister to move without the knowledge of France, proved to Prince Bismarck that the key which might unlock the future was in the Emperor Napoleon's hands, and he decided on undertaking what he called 'the "pilgrimage" to Biarritz, where the emperor was staying, for the purpose of endeavouring to arrive at an understanding with him. He had two things obviously to secure. First, the neutrality of France in the event of war; and, second, the assent of France to a Prussian-Italian alliance. No man knows exactly what passed at Biarritz. Bismarck did not imitate the example of Cavour, and reduce to writing the arrangements which were arrived at. But the course of events makes it tolerably easy to collect the substance of the decisions, and even to conjecture the arguments which prevailed with Napoleon.

In the first place, the very fact that France was disturbed at the prospect of an alliance between Austria and Prussia made it certain that the emperor would not be indisposed to a rupture between them. Allies, they might prove a formidable menace to the safety of France, or at any rate a formidable curb to French ambition; divided, France might fairly hope that her own position would be strengthened, and that she would be able by forcible intervention to impose terms on either of them. The emperor, therefore, had no hesitation in promising his neutrality in the event of war, reserving, at the same time, liberty to intervene if the events of the war necessitated intervention. Nor had Bismarck much difficulty in persuading him that Italy should be allowed to be a party to the war. The emperor's dream of 1859 had been the liberation of the Peninsula from the Alps to the Adriatic; his promise had been frustrated at Villafranca by the attitude of Prussia; and it probably seemed to him a sound stroke of policy to make Prussia herself rake the chestnuts out of the fire, which Prussia in 1859 had prevented him from securing. It is certain, moreover, that the emperor thought that even Prussia and Italy combined would have a difficult task before them. His own experience in 1859 had taught him to attach a high value to the Austrian army. All his

advisers assured him—and it is fair to recollect that Lord Palmerston had received similar assurances from British officers—that the Prussian army was of little use, and one of the best informed of them had just told him that it could not stand against Austrian troops. Even with Italian help, therefore, the Prussians, so the emperor thought, had a hard task before them; and in the months through which a long and difficult war would be protracted, he would have ample leisure to organise his own forces and to prepare for any eventuality.

But, in the next place, Bismarck had other arguments, which were sure to have weight with the emperor. The absorption of the duchies in Prussia was, he could contend, only a new application of the emperor's own principle of Nationalities. Just as the doctrine of Nationalities required that Venetia should be Italian and Savoy French, so it demanded that duchies in which there was a large German element should be German. True, their absorption in Prussia would increase the weight of Prussia. But France could obtain compensation by the application of the same principle. Belgium, Luxemburg, French Switzerland—even the Rhine Provinces of Germany—these were all places to which Napoleon might conceivably look for compensation. At any rate it was easy for Bismarck to dangle temptations of this character before the eyes of the emperor.* And as the emperor only listened, and did not pin him to his words, Bismarck had the rare good fortune of obtaining what he required without giving a distinct pledge of anything in return.

For Bismarck practically secured, either at Biarritz or in the negotiations which followed his interview with the emperor, all that he required. He obtained from the emperor a promise of the neutrality which was essential to him, and the emperor himself undertook to recommend to Italy the Prussian alliance. It is no wonder that Bismarck returned in exceptionally good spirits from what he afterwards called his beloved Biarritz. French abstention, Italian

* It is certain that, if he did not use this language to the emperor himself, he used it in quarters from which it would be necessarily carried to the emperor's ears. See Rothan, 'La Politique Française en 1866,' p. 53, and note. May we take this opportunity of expressing our regret at the death of M. Rothan, an historian who has done much—perhaps more than any other writer—to illustrate the causes which led to the fall of the Second Empire?

assistance,* both were practically secured to him. He had only now one thing more to accomplish: to provoke Austria into the war on which he was determined.

It would be impossible within our present limits to trace the events in the beginning of 1866 which produced fresh differences between the two German Powers, and which enabled Bismarck to throw on Austria the responsibility of disregarding the provisions agreed to at Gastein. In the course of these months, however, the question gradually became enlarged, and the quarrel, which was originally confined to the future of Schleswig-Holstein, more and more evidently turned on the future of Germany. In the middle of this anxious time, when Bismarck's policy was being hotly denounced by Prussian Liberals, and when his dismissal from the king's councils was being demanded by the Prussian press, Cohen Blind made his determined attempt on the minister's life. The crime marked a crisis in Bismarck's fortunes. Superstitious Germans were inclined to agree with the opinion of the medical man who attended him: 'There is but one explanation [of his escape from death]: "God has His hand in the matter." Germans who were not superstitious had their sympathies aroused for a minister whose life had been cruelly attempted while he was in his country's service. The sympathy which was consequently excited was increased by Bismarck's own speech to the people who thronged the street in which his house stood to congratulate him on his safety: 'Death for king and "fatherland is sweet, even if he should meet us on the "street pavement and by an assassin's hand.' Thence-forward the unpopularity which Bismarck had incurred decreased, till a few weeks later it gave way before the universal enthusiasm which the success of his measures aroused.

For success was very near. In April an offensive and defensive alliance, to last for three months, was concluded between Italy and Prussia. Soon afterwards Bismarck happened to meet at dinner a lady of great influence in Saxony, who ventured to say to him, 'Is it really true 'that you are going to declare war to expel Austria from 'Germany, and occupy Saxony yourselves?' 'My dear 'Countess,' replied Bismarck, 'I have from the first had 'this intention, and I have never ceased to prepare for it

* It was at this time that Bismarck said, 'Si l'Italie n'existe pas, il faudrait l'inventer.'

'since I became minister. The time is now ripe; our guns are all cast, and you will soon have an opportunity of realising that our new artillery is infinitely better than that of Austria.' 'You make me positively shudder,' replied the lady; 'but, since you are in a communicative vein, tell me what I should myself do if your sinister anticipations should be realised. I have two properties—one in Bohemia, the other near Leipzig—to which shall I go?' 'If you take my advice,' answered Bismarck, 'you will not go into Bohemia, for, unless I am mistaken, it is in the neighbourhood of your own property that we shall fight the Austrians. I advise you, therefore, to go quietly into Saxony. Nothing is likely to happen near Leipzig, and you will, therefore, be safe there from the inconveniences of war.' The lady naturally reported this remarkable conversation, and Bismarck was asked by the representatives of foreign courts to explain his meaning. He put off the inquiry by declining to be held responsible for a joke at dinner.* But the joke had done its work. Austria at once moved some additional troops into Bohemia, and Bismarck, complaining of these reinforcements, declared that they were a menace to Berlin, and threw the responsibility of a probable rupture on Austria.

War immediately resulted from the protest which Austria lodged against the occupation of Holstein by Prussian troops. On June 14 she ordered the mobilisation of the armies of all the German States not belonging to Prussia. The Prussian Minister declared this proceeding to be a violation of the constitution, and called on the Middle States—Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse—to disarm and pledge themselves to neutrality in the coming contest. On their refusal, troops were moved into each of these countries. The Hanoverian army was defeated, Hesse Cassel was overrun, and Leipzig was occupied. The immediate success of these operations enabled Prussia to converge the mass of her forces on Bohemia itself; and on July 3, a war, which had only commenced in the last fortnight of June, was practically concluded by the complete overthrow of the Austrians at Sadowa.

The total defeat of his troops convinced the Emperor of Austria that peace was absolutely essential, and he turned at once to France to help him in his difficulty. He offered

* 'Il se tira d'affaire en donnant à l'incident un tour plaisant.' (Rotban, 'La Politique Française en 1866,' p. 113.)

to cede Venetia to Napoleon on condition that the emperor would insist on an armistice in Italy and undertake the negotiation of a peace. If France would only temporarily occupy Venice, so Austria thought, a barrier would practically be imposed between Italy and Vienna, and the emperor could move the forces which had been watching the Italian army to reinforce his discomfited battalions in Bohemia. Napoleon at once communicated the request which had been conveyed to him both to the Italian and the Prussian Governments, and he gained some little prestige in France by announcing that his intervention had been asked to terminate the war. The inhabitants of Paris even illuminated their windows from their satisfaction on learning that France was to play a part worthy of her history in the settlement of the dispute.

The satisfaction which was temporarily felt at Paris was not shared by the emperor or his advisers. The emperor especially had been rudely undeceived by the rapid success of the Prussian army. He had reckoned on a long war and on an indecisive struggle, and he was suddenly face to face with the fact that the Prussian army, which he had hitherto despised, was the finest in the world. However gladly, moreover, the sovereign who was defeated might court his intervention, it did not at all follow that it would be equally welcome to the sovereign who was victorious. The only chance, in fact, of being able to insist on peace seemed to lie in being ready for war; and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who held the French Foreign Office, at once urged that the emperor should support his proposals by moving 80,000 men towards the Prussian frontier, by summoning the French Chambers, and by asking for a loan of 40,000,000*l.* But this energetic counsel was rejected, after warm discussion, by the emperor, and its rejection was necessary. For, incredible as it seems, the emperor had not 80,000 men at his disposal. It is more than doubtful if in 1866 he could have put more than 40,000 men in line against the Prussian army.

Armed intervention, therefore, was impossible. All that the emperor could do was to rely on any influence which he might still possess to moderate the pretensions of the victors. And it was at first very doubtful whether either Italy or Prussia would stay their hands at his bidding. Italy, indeed, whose part in the war had been, to say the least, inglorious, was bent on continuing the struggle, and on winning Venetia by the efforts of her own soldiery. The Prussian Court, on

the other hand, elated by the successes of their troops, desired to dictate peace under the walls of Vienna. Bismarck was almost alone in urging a contrary course. His moderation in the hour of his triumph in 1866 is, perhaps, the one thing in which he showed himself the superior of his great Italian predecessor, Cavour. In all the events which had preceded the war, in his interview with Napoleon, in his efforts to put Austria in the wrong, he had pursued the policy of Cavour so closely that the mantle of the Italian minister seemed to have fallen on the shoulders of the Prussian statesman. But—while after Villafranca Cavour urged a policy of action which would probably have deprived Italy of all she had won—after Sadowa, Bismarck warmly supported a policy of moderation, which unquestionably enabled him to secure the fruits of his victory before entering on the new and greater struggle, which from that moment he never ceased to contemplate.

If in this crisis he displayed a statesmanlike moderation, he concurrently showed that his diplomacy was full of resource. We have no desire to become the apologists of the third Napoleon; we think that his rule was in many respects a misfortune for France and for Europe. But we cannot help being moved at the pathetic spectacle of the emperor in the last four years of his reign, stricken with a painful disease, distracted by the contrary counsels of his advisers, his old habits of irresolution increased by age and illness, engaged in a hopeless struggle with the strongest and most pitiless statesman of the century. The emperor, satisfied that he had no troops to enforce his views, threw himself from the first on the generosity of a statesman who probably regarded generosity as a crime in a diplomatist. Before the war, Bismarck had dangled all sorts of promises before the emperor's eyes, and the emperor imagined that after the war he had only to ask for their redemption. Thus he was ready to give Prussia almost everything that she required, in the expectation that in return Bismarck would enable him to secure the increase of territory which he thought essential for France. French historians tell us that when M. de Goltz, the Prussian Minister at Paris, called on M. Drouyn de Lhuys to explain the proposals of his court, he was careful to minimise the orders which he had received. The Prussian territories, he said, unrolling a map, were severed by intervening States; it was necessary to make some small annexations here and there to render them contiguous. But these annexations

were, after all, only small. They merely concerned some 300,000 people, and they would chiefly be at the expense of Hesse, whose sovereign was unpopular. M. Drouyn de Lhuys admitted that the annexations were not of much importance. But at the same time he argued that the transfer of a population of 300,000 souls from one State to another was a subject which must be carefully considered and approved by Europe. Unable to procure the assent of the minister, M. de Goltz drove at once to the sovereign and prevailed on him to assent to the annexation of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Frankfort, and Nassau to Prussia, annexations which involved the addition of some 4,500,000 souls to the Prussian kingdom.

In assenting to this great extension of Prussian territory, the emperor undoubtedly thought that he would obtain Bismarck's support of the rectifications which he desired to make in his own frontier, and he at once instructed the French Ambassador at Berlin to apply for the territory which he conceived that he could claim as the price of his good will. In the conversations which then took place, and which occurred before the preliminaries of the peace had been finally ratified, Bismarck showed some disposition to admit that territorial compensation was due to France. But when the French Ambassador proceeded to suggest that the compensation might be found in the annexation to France of Prussian territory between the Moselle and the Rhine,* Bismarck at once pleaded the reluctance of his sovereign to cede any portion of his hereditary dominions, and suggested that France might obtain a satisfactory equivalent in Belgium. The French Government did not, however, immediately abandon its original proposal —on the contrary, it prepared a draft treaty, which it directed its ambassador to present to Bismarck, claiming the line of the Rhine, including the fortress of Mayence, for France. There are two accounts of the manner in which this demand was made. Bismarck said: 'The ambassador of France came into my room, holding an ultimatum in his hand requiring the cession of Mayence, and threatening

* Immediately before the war Bismarck had himself suggested some such arrangement. He said to the French ambassador at Berlin: 'Il ne serait peut-être pas tout-à-fait impossible d'amener le Roi à céder à la France les bords de la haute Moselle. Cette acquisition, jointe à celle du Luxembourg, redresserait votre frontière de manière à vous donner toute satisfaction.' (De la Gorce, 'Hist. du Second Empire,' vol. iv., p. 626.)

“ war if it was refused. I did not hesitate to reply, “ Very well, we choose war. But tell your emperor that the war which he is provoking must become a war of revolution, and that in such a struggle the dynasties of Germany may prove themselves more solidly established than the dynasty of the emperor.”’ M. Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, on the contrary, declares that so far from walking into Bismarck’s room with an ultimatum in his hand, he prepared him for the discussion by sending him beforehand a copy of the proposed treaty, and that, so far from choosing war, Bismarck seemed anxious to conciliate France; and, in declaring it impossible to consent to the cession of Mayence, offered other arrangements satisfactory to the interests of both countries. It is probable that the truth may be found by fusing the two accounts. But it is certain that the result of the interview was a rude blow to the emperor’s policy, and that it led directly to the resignation of his Foreign Minister, M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

Unprepared for war, but profoundly dejected at the check which he had received, the emperor, with a lack of generosity which, it is fair to say, was unusual in him, threw the blame of failure on his retiring minister. M. Drouyn de Lhuys—he wrote to his successor, M. de la Valette—had conceived the idea of sending a draft treaty to Berlin. This treaty, which ought to have been kept secret, had made a great stir abroad; and it was obvious that, if it had been insisted on, France would have had to fight all Germany for the sake of securing a very slight rectification of her frontier. The true policy of France was quite different. She should help Germany to work out her future in the manner that was most favourable to the interests of France and to those of Europe. In accordance with this new decision, the emperor concerted a fresh scheme with the German Ambassador at Paris. He suggested that Prussia should consent to the surrender of Saarbrück, Saarlouis, and Landau, and the transfer of Luxemburg to France; and that by a separate and secret treaty Prussia and France should agree to an offensive and defensive alliance, under which France should ultimately be at liberty to acquire Belgium. When this proposal reached Berlin, Bismarck refused to sanction any surrender of German territory; he moreover affected to prefer that the two treaties should be rolled into one; and, according to the French account,* at his dictation, M. Benedetti drew

* It is fair to add that Bismarck declared that the treaty reached him from Paris in the form in which it was ultimately published.

up a new treaty, omitting all reference to German territory, but stipulating that (1) Prussia should help France to acquire Luxemburg; (2) France should offer no opposition to a Federal Union between the new Confederation of Northern Germany and the States of Southern Germany; (3) if France should decide on the occupation or conquest of Belgium, Prussia should lend her armed assistance; and (4), to give effect to these arrangements, an offensive and defensive alliance should be concluded between the two Powers.

In consenting to discuss these proposals Bismarck was to some extent sincere. We know from Busch that, in his judgement, Napoleon in the summer of 1866 lacked the courage to do what he ought to have done. 'He could have done a good stroke of business, although not on German soil. When we attacked Austria he should have occupied —— [it is difficult to avoid filling up the blank with Luxemburg], and held it as a pledge. We could not have prevented him at that time, and most probably England would not have stirred. If the *coup* had succeeded he might have placed himself back to back with us, encouraging us to further aggression. But,' he added, 'he is, and remains, a muddle-headed fellow.' And, if Bismarck would not have objected to the transfer of Luxemburg to France, he would probably have seen with pleasure a French invasion of Belgium. For he knew that such a proceeding would necessarily destroy the good understanding between France and England, and would leave France absolutely isolated. It was a characteristic of Bismarck's policy—which he applied in turn to France, Austria, and Russia—to distract the attention of troublesome neighbours from Germany by embroiling them elsewhere.

The proposals of France, moreover, had placed in his hands a new weapon, of which he did not scruple to avail himself. On the very day on which he received the emperor's first proposal from Benedetti, he sent a special envoy to St. Petersburg to communicate it confidentially to the Russian Government. It was not difficult to persuade the Russian Government with such evidence that France was contemplating fresh schemes of aggrandisement, which it was the interest both of Europe and of Russia to resist. In the same way the draft treaty relating to Belgium was carefully preserved; and, when war broke out between France and Prussia in 1870, was reproduced in *fac-simile* and published by Bismarck.

Strengthened by the assurance of Russian support, aware of the weakness of France, and relying, perhaps, on the evidence which the draft of the secret treaty afforded him, Bismarck declared to Benedetti that the proposals of France were made with the object of embroiling Prussia with England, and refused to entertain them. But at the same time he was careful to point out that he did not abandon the hope of an alliance with France, and that, if France could make the necessary arrangement with Holland for the cession of Luxembourg, Prussia would not oppose it. 'Commit yourselves,' so he argued, 'to the arrangement, and you will find us ready to second your efforts. Let the cession be a *fait accompli* before the Reichstag meets, and I will undertake to induce Germany to swallow the pill.' For the moment, however, worn out with the fatigue of the campaign and of the labours which had followed it, he was going to seek health and rest at Varzin, and the conclusion of any more formal arrangement must be deferred till after his return.

Thus the negotiation, which had commenced in July and August 1866, was practically suspended until the end of the year. Before it was resumed, new facts had been disclosed which enormously increased the power of Prussia and the embarrassment of the French Emperor. In the Peace of Prague, by which the war had been concluded, the new Confederation of the North had been practically confined to the line of the Main, and the South German States had been left free to form themselves into a new confederation. Napoleon undoubtedly thought that the recollections of the war would create a barrier between the North and the South, and that he himself would be able to exercise a preponderating influence in Southern Germany. He was startled to find in November that Bismarck had succeeded in concluding treaties with the South German States which had placed their whole military force at the disposal of Prussia. The French complained that the Treaty of Prague had practically been torn up when the new arrangements were made, and with a heavy heart they resumed the negotiations which had been interrupted in the summer. Our space makes it impossible for us to follow the history of these negotiations. Bismarck had frankly told the French in August that they must secure the cession of Luxembourg by Holland before the Reichstag met, and, as a matter of fact, the meeting of the Reichstag made success hopeless. Public opinion in Germany was obviously

opposed to the transaction; the Prussian army was anxious for war with France, and war for a short time seemed inevitable.

We have the authority of a French historian for saying that, if war had broken out in 1867, France would have been even less prepared for the struggle than she proved in 1870. The three years of grace which were secured to her did enable her to make some preparations. Bismarck, however, arrived at a different conclusion. He thought that delay was on the side of his own country. She required time to assimilate what she had already won, and to organise the armies of Northern as well as of Southern Germany on the Prussian model. ‘Each year’s postponement of the war,’ he wrote, ‘would add 100,000 trained soldiers to our army.’ He said the same thing before Paris in 1871. ‘I have often thought over what would have happened if we had gone to war about Luxemburg. Should I now be in Paris, or would the French be in Berlin? I think I did well to prevent war at that time. We should not have been nearly so strong as we are to-day.’

Thus, in opposition to the court, the army, and public opinion, Bismarck made up his mind to bide his time. He had, perhaps, already in his own judgement determined the precise time at which war should break out. The arrangements with the South German States gave Prussia control of their forces till the spring of 1871. It was obviously, therefore, to the advantage of Prussia that if war were to come it should come in 1870. Its immediate cause, as everyone knows, was the election of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to the throne of Spain. Bismarck, indeed, maintained that he had very little to do with the Prince’s selection. When France first complained of the choice which had been made, he replied that the ministry knew nothing about the matter, and he added in his Memoirs that ‘this was correct so far, that the question of Prince Leopold’s acceptance of his election had been treated by his Majesty simply as a family matter, which in no way concerned either Prussia or the North German Confederation.’ But we know from Busch that Bismarck’s account is simply untrue; that the candidature had been discussed by the entire Prussian ministry; that it had been arranged by a member of Bismarck’s own staff, specially sent to Madrid for the purpose; and that it was regarded by Busch himself as a trap set for Napoleon.

Bismarck, however, had comparatively little to do with the negotiations which preceded the rupture. The King of Prussia was at Ems, and, without the advice or knowledge of his minister, entered into the now famous conversation with the French Ambassador Benedetti. Bismarck thought that the concessions which the king made, and which, in his own strong language, ‘had exposed his royal person to ‘insolent treatment from the foreign agent,’ had made his own position untenable, and he decided to retire. The day on which he arrived at this decision, July 13, 1870, he asked Von Roon, the Secretary of War, and Moltke to dine with him. While they were at dinner the famous telegram arrived from Ems announcing that Benedetti had asked the king to bind himself for all future time never again to give his consent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature. The telegram went on, quoting the king’s exact words: ‘I refused at last somewhat sternly, as it is neither ‘right nor possible to undertake engagements of this ‘kind à tout jamais. Naturally I told him that I had ‘as yet received no news [i.e. from Madrid], and as he was ‘earlier informed about Paris and Madrid than myself he ‘could clearly see that my Government once more had no ‘hand in the matter.’ It was obvious from the king’s account of the meeting that nothing discourteous to France had been said or intended. In telegraphing the report to Bismarck by the king’s orders, Count Abeken, who was in attendance on the king, added: ‘His Majesty has since ‘received a letter from the prince. His Majesty having ‘told Count Benedetti that he was awaiting news from the ‘prince, has decided, with reference to the above demand, ‘upon the representation of Count Eulenburg and myself, ‘not to receive Count Benedetti again, but only to let him ‘be informed through an aide-de-camp: that his Majesty ‘had now received from the prince confirmation of the news ‘which Benedetti had already received from Paris, and had ‘nothing further to say to the ambassador.’ The telegram added that the king left it to Bismarck to determine whether the new demand and its rejection should not at once be communicated to the press.

We know from Bismarck himself that, when he read this telegram to his guests, their dejection was so great that ‘they turned away from food and drink.’ Bismarck thought differently. He took the precaution of ascertaining from Moltke that no advantage could be gained by deferring war—that, on the contrary, its rapid outbreak would be

more favourable to Germany than delay, and he thereupon undertook to edit the telegram for publication. The telegram had consisted of two parts: the king's own account of what had occurred, and Abeken's subsequent addition to it. Bismarck ran the two together. The revised telegram recited accurately Benedetti's demand. But, instead of giving the king's firm but courteous answer, it substituted for it a portion of the message which Abeken said the king had sent to Benedetti later on. And this substitution was not given fairly. The message had said that the king had decided not to receive Benedetti again, but only to inform him through an aide-de-camp that *his Majesty had now received from the prince confirmation of the news which Benedetti had received from Paris*, and had nothing further to say. It is obvious, therefore, that the king's meaning was: 'the news 'which you gave me' (of the prince's declining the throne) 'is now confirmed. I have nothing to add to what I said to 'you this morning.' But Bismarck, by omitting the words which we have placed in italics, and connecting the message to Benedetti directly with Benedetti's demand, gave the telegram a wholly different meaning. His version ran: 'After the news of the renunciation of the Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern had been officially communicated to the Imperial Government of France by the Royal Government of Spain, the French Ambassador at Ems further demanded of his Majesty the king that he would authorise him to telegraph to Paris that his Majesty the king bound himself for all future time never again to give his consent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature. His Majesty the king thereupon decided not to receive the French Ambassador again, and sent to tell him through the aide-de-camp on duty that his Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the ambassador.'

Mr. Jacks is of opinion that 'there are no grounds whatever for the accusation so often made that Bismarck falsified his monarch's telegram.' We can only say that we are unable to understand how any man of Mr. Jacks's intelligence can arrive at such a conclusion. Moltke, at any rate, formed a very different opinion. 'Now,' he said, 'it has a different ring; it sounded before like a parley; now it is like a flourish in answer to a challenge.' And Bismarck declared himself that the telegram would have the effect of a red rag upon the Gallic bull. The Duc de Gramont regarded the matter in the same light. The telegram had 'insulted France by declaring to the public

' that the king had insulted the French Ambassador. The king had, indeed, really not treated Count Benedetti with 'the rude impoliteness of which the Prussian Government bragged; but it was precisely this boasting that constituted 'the offence.' In other words, it was the language of the telegram, and not the conduct of the king, which led to the almost immediate declaration of war by France.

In deciding on war in 1870—for the decision was virtually his—Bismarck showed that he was a much better judge of the relative strength of the opposing forces than any French statesman. He knew that in physique,* in numbers, in organisation, in arms, the German army was superior to the French; and he had every reason for thinking that the French had no general who could be compared with Moltke. The only uneasiness he felt arose from the possible interference of other Powers. The rapid success of the German arms made, indeed, the intervention of Austria impossible. But Russia was a more formidable neighbour, and Bismarck bid high for her neutrality. We have Busch's authority for saying that 'as early as September 1—that is, before the battle of Sedan—Prussia had intimated in St. Petersburg 'that she would put no difficulties in the way of such action 'in the matter of the Black Sea' as Russia eventually took in the following November. As a matter of fact, indeed, when the Russian claim was made, Bismarck privately said that 'the Russians should not have been so modest in their demands. They ought to have asked for more.'

In the conduct of the war Bismarck had, of course, no share. But he had, nevertheless, frequent opportunities of showing that, in his judgement, war was war, and that in war the sternest measures were, on the whole, the most humane. He over and over again declared that Paris should have been immediately stormed. He ridiculed the notion that its bombardment should be avoided because it contained works of art. 'If the French wanted to preserve 'their monuments and collections of books and pictures 'from the dangers of war, they should not have surrounded 'them with fortifications.' The life of one German soldier was 'worth more than all the trashy pictures' in Versailles. His voice, too, was always in favour of the extreme measures which war perhaps justifies. 'Our people,' he complained,

* Bismarck mentioned at Versailles that the front of a company of the Pomeranian Landwehr was at least five feet broader than that of a French company. (Busch, i. p. 275.)

'are very good marksmen, but bad executioners. Every village in which an act of treachery has been committed should be burned to the ground, and all the male inhabitants hanged.' When he was told that 1,600 prisoners had been taken on the Loire, he remarked, 'I should have been better pleased if they had all been corpses. It is simply a disadvantage to us now to make prisoners.' In a similar strain, when Jules Favre, during the negotiations at Versailles, told him that his position was very critical, Bismarck coolly replied, 'Provoquez donc une émeute pendant que vous avez encore une armée pour l'étouffer.' 'Favre,' he added, 'looked at me quite terror-stricken, as if he wished to say, "How bloodthirsty you are!"' I explained to him, however, that this was the only way to manage a 'mob.' Omelettes, to quote a famous simile, cannot be made without breaking eggs. And, when he wanted to make an omelette, Bismarck broke his eggs with a very light heart.

His pitiless character was equally visible throughout the negotiations for peace. It is interesting to see that before the war had lasted a fortnight he had made up his mind to annex Alsace. After the battle of Gravelotte Busch was able to record his chief's reasons for retaining Alsace, Metz, and its environs. All that Thiers's eloquence could do in 1871 was to save Belfort for France. And it is a little doubtful whether Belfort had not been put forward as the Jonah to be eventually sacrificed in the name of moderation. Bismarck himself, indeed, had some hesitation even about Metz. He said at the time, 'If they were to give us another milliard we might perhaps leave them Metz. . . . I do not want so many Frenchmen in our house. It is the same with Belfort, which is entirely French. But the soldiers will not hear of giving up Metz, and perhaps they are right.'

The war, of course, did much more than humiliate France. It consolidated Germany. The King of Prussia became Emperor of Germany. The policy which Bismarck had from the first contemplated had been worked out by blood and iron as he had predicted. But the empire which had been created had still to be preserved; and Bismarck's efforts to preserve it during the twenty years of peace which followed were as strenuous and unceasing as those which had led to the triumph of his country.

From the moment at which peace was made Bismarck foresaw that France would seize any favourable opportunity

for regaining her lost provinces. The unexpected ease with which she discharged the great indemnity imposed on her convinced him that her resources were larger, and that the danger was consequently greater, than he had first imagined. But, wealthy and powerful as she was proving herself to be, France could not hope for success in a new struggle if she entered it alone. The only possible allies which she could secure were Austria, still sore at her defeat in 1866, and Russia. It was, therefore, to the obvious advantage of Germany that she should arrive at a clear understanding with both these Powers, and with this object, even before the termination of the war of 1870, Bismarck made overtures to Austria. Prussia, he argued, had gained all that she required. Neither Austria nor any other Power had anything to fear from her ambition; and the time had accordingly come for burying the past, and for closer friendship between the two Great Powers of Central Europe. Both Von Beust and Andrassy, who successively controlled the foreign policy of Austria, readily responded to these overtures. The Emperors of Austria and Germany personally met, and a complete reconciliation was established between them.

By this arrangement the French were deprived of the assistance of one nation which conceivably might also have grasped at an opportunity for a *revanche*. But Bismarck did not stop at this point. Russia and Austria had been estranged from one another since the days of the Crimean War, and Bismarck addressed himself to the task of overcoming this estrangement. His tact and ability were again rewarded. The three emperors met at Berlin in 1872; and the *Drei-Kaiser-Bund* was the result of the meeting. In the following year a military convention was concluded between Russia and Germany, which was subsequently confirmed by the two emperors, but which Bismarck did not sign, pledging each country to assist the other in case either should be attacked.

The close understanding between the three empires obviously made peace in Europe certain. When Austria, Germany, and Russia were agreed no other Power could contemplate an attack on any of them. The French, however, did not relax their efforts to repair the defects in their military organisation which had been so cruelly revealed to them; and these efforts were so constant and so effectual that in 1875 Bismarck was almost universally credited with a desire to renew the war and crush France

before they were completed. He has himself, indeed, told us that this idea was a mere 'myth of Prince Gortchakoff, ' who spread the lie that we intended to fall on France 'before she had recovered from her wounds.' Perhaps, however, without unduly straining his conscience, he might have equally urged in the summer of 1870 that he had no desire for war. Myth or not, the idea that he desired war in 1875 was generally entertained in other countries, and many people still think that war was only prevented by the strong remonstrances both of this country and of Russia. It is certain, at any rate, that Bismarck was profoundly irritated at Gortchakoff, who openly played the part of peace-maker, and that a certain coolness was imported into the relations between the Emperors of Russia and Germany. This coolness perceptibly increased during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8. Before war broke out Russia inquired whether, if she should go to war with Austria, she might rely on German neutrality, and Bismarck, after parrying the question for months, at length replied that 'we could endure that our friends should lose or win battles against each other, but not that one of the two should be so severely wounded and injured that its position as an independent Great Power taking its part in the councils of Europe would be endangered.' After the war Russia thought the conduct of Bismarck, in playing the part of 'the honest broker' at the Congress of Berlin, unfriendly. The Empress Marie openly complained, 'Votre amitié est "trop platonique";' and the Czar curtly told the emperor, 'Your Majesty's Chancellor has forgotten the promises of 1870.'

Thus, at the end of 1879, the good understanding which had been established between the three emperors was virtually destroyed, and Russia was practically estranged from Germany. Her estrangement induced Bismarck to draw more closely the bonds which united him with Austria. The *Drei-Kaiser-Bund* was an understanding—a *liaison*; it was time to replace the irregular *liaison* with a regular alliance. In August 1879 Bismarck met Andrassy at Gastein and talked over the subject. The two statesmen agreed to, and the Emperor of Austria readily approved of, a new treaty between the two countries, pledging both of them, in the event of either of them being attacked by a third Power, jointly to repel such attack with their entire united strength. The provisions of the treaty were not carried without grave difficulty. The Emperor

William, personally on friendly terms with the Emperor of Russia, strongly objected to an arrangement which was aimed distinctly against Russia, and which—he argued with some force—was inconsistent with the convention which had been concluded in 1873. Bismarck, however, determined to have his way, brought the matter before the Cabinet, and left the emperor to choose between consenting to the treaty and a change of ministers; and the emperor, though unconvinced by his minister's arguments, at last 'gave the promise to ratify the treaty only because he was averse to ministerial changes.'* In 1883, Italy, estranged from France by French policy in Tunis, joined the alliance which was thus formed.†

Bismarck had now succeeded in consolidating an alliance between the three central Powers of Europe. He had undoubtedly been prompted to do so by the prospect of Russian aggression, and by the fear that Russia might combine with France. But, though he thus took what he would himself have considered a measure of precaution against Russia, he never lost sight of the possibility of arriving at a new understanding with his Eastern neighbour. The accession of a new Czar, and the appointment of M. de Giers to the chief place in the Russian ministry, facilitated his policy. In 1884 the three emperors met at Skiernevitch and agreed on a new treaty. The first article of this treaty stipulated that if one of the three contracting Powers should be at war with a fourth Power, the two others should observe a benevolent

* The arrangement seems to have been embodied in two distinct treaties—one contemplating an attack on either of the contracting parties by Russia; the other, war between one of them and France. Bismarck says in his 'Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 272, 'The treaty which we concluded with Austria for common defence against a Russian attack is *publici juris*. An analogous treaty between the two Powers for defence against France has not been published.' M. de Cyon, in his interesting 'Histoire de l'Entente Franco-Russe,' argues from the provisions of the subsequent Treaty of Skiernevitch that it must have contained provisions for the active support of Germany by Austria in the event of a new Franco-German war. (P. 59.)

† The conditions on which Italy joined the Alliance do not seem to be accurately known. It was reported, however, that in the event of a war between Austria and Russia, Italy was to receive Roveredo and the Trentino as the price of her assistance. In the event of a war between Germany and France she was to obtain, according to one account, Tunis; according to another, Nice, Savoy and a part of Provence. See M. de Cyon, 'Histoire de l'Entente Franco-Russe,' p. 261.

neutrality towards their ally. It is stated that, as the article was originally drawn, it contained a provision that, if two of the contracting parties were engaged in a war with a fourth, the third should preserve the same benevolent neutrality. The Emperor of Russia, however, declined to agree to a stipulation which would have forced him to neutrality in the event of France being attacked by the combined force of Austria and Germany, and this provision was struck out.

Thus, in 1884, Bismarck had succeeded in strengthening the position of Germany to an extraordinary extent. By his treaties with Austria he had arranged that if either Austria or Germany were attacked by another Power, both countries should combine to repel the attack. By the tripartite treaty of 1884 he had arranged that, if Germany were engaged in offensive war with France, Russia and Austria should, at any rate, observe a benevolent neutrality. If, in other words, France declared war against Germany, she would find herself opposed to Germany and Austria. If, on the other hand, Germany should declare war against France, France was deprived of all hope of either moral or material support from any first-rate continental Power.

So far the object and the purport of these various arrangements can be followed with comparative ease; they dominated European politics for at least two years. In 1886, however, a large party in Russia displayed an increasing hostility to the German alliance. The agreement with Austria and Germany, they thought, was imposing new difficulties on Russia in the East, and the time had come for replacing it by a close alliance with France. The French about the same time showed in their enthusiasm for Boulanger a disposition to rid themselves of republican government, and to seek at last the long-deferred *revanche* for which they had been so sedulously preparing. They were naturally, in these circumstances, prepared to grasp at any prospect of closer alliance with Russia. With these symptoms before him Bismarck wisely renewed the arrangements which he had made in 1879 with Austria. And, in defending his policy in the Legislature, he used language which was understood to imply that the alliance between St. Petersburg and Berlin was at an end. But at this very time—as his own revelations in a German newspaper ten years afterwards showed—he had a secret treaty in his pocket which seems to have effectually ‘guaranteed the neutrality of Russia and Germany respectively in the event of a war other than one of absolutely

'unprovoked aggression against any third Power.'* Thus, so far as Germany was concerned, he was still adhering to his old system. Germany, Austria (and Italy) were to defend one another with all their power if either of them were attacked. And, if events should lead to war, other than of unprovoked aggression, between Germany and France, or between Russia and Austria, Germany and Russia, as the case might be, were to preserve a strict neutrality. It followed that (1) if France attacked Germany, she would find herself opposed to Germany, Austria, and Italy; (2) if Germany had a dispute with France which led to war, France could not rely on Russian assistance; (3) if Russia attacked Austria, Austria would receive Italian and German support; but (4) if, which was more probable, differences arose between Russia and Austria on the Eastern Question, Austria would be left to settle with Russia alone. Verily, if the Triple Alliance was of equal advantage both to Austria and Germany, the new arrangement with Russia left Austria very much in the cold.

In this rapid review of the career and of the achievements of a great statesman, we have been forced mainly to confine our attention to his foreign policy. Our space does not allow us to enter into his domestic measures, and we are compelled reluctantly to omit all reference to the struggles with the Church and with the Socialists, to the legislation which followed these struggles, and to the reasons which induced Bismarck in his later years to embark on a policy of colonial expansion abroad, and of protection at home. In these matters, indeed, the Chancellor displayed the same inflexibility of will and tenacity of purpose which characterised his foreign policy. He dominated over his sovereign, over his colleagues, and over the Legislature. No autocratic monarch ever claimed or exacted more absolute power. 'L'état c'est moi,' said Louis XIV., but during the twenty-four years of Bismarck's supremacy he might have said with equal truth, 'Prussia, it is I.'

In considering his policy as a whole it is impossible to avoid a feeling of admiration at the achievements which he accomplished, and at the use which he made of them. He

* See the 'Times,' August 1, 1898. The reader may be interested in comparing this conclusion with M. de Cyon's account in 'L'Histoire de l'Entente Franco-Russe.' M. de Cyon, writing in 1895, was obviously unaware of the secret treaty between Russia and Germany, which was only disclosed in 1896.

unquestionably raised his own country in eight years from the position of a second-rate Power to the first place on the Continent, and he maintained the position which he had won for her in war by a series of alliances which made her practically secure from attack. Nor should it be forgotten that the results of his policy were, on the whole, good both for Europe and the world. The Treaty of Frankfort has given Western Europe, at any rate, thirty years of peace, and this result was ensured both by Bismarck's moderation in 1866 and by his severity in 1870. In the former year his wise decision to exact as little as possible from Austria, enforced as it was in opposition to his sovereign and the public opinion of his country, undoubtedly paved the way for that good understanding with Austria which has done so much in late years to secure the position which Bismarck won for Germany and Prussia. The penalty which he exacted from France in 1870, on the other hand, and which has produced the cry for that *revanche* which has been a disturbing element in European politics for more than a quarter of a century, has made war less likely, because it has made a French invasion of Germany more difficult. The strong places through which the tide of aggression had so frequently poured are now in German keeping, and Germany can hardly be invaded with safety till both Metz and Strasburg are taken.

Whether, then, we consider the objects which Bismarck set himself to attain at the beginning of his career, or the surprising results which ensued from his policy, or the political combinations by which he secured for Prussia and Germany the position which he had won for them by blood and iron, we are convinced that the judgement of history will be in Bismarck's favour. But if history will almost certainly approve the ends, it is by no means so certain that it will approve the means by which the ends were won. Even Bismarck himself had some misgivings on this point. On one Sunday in October 1877 he said to Busch that he had had little pleasure or satisfaction from his political life.

'He had made no one happy thereby, neither himself, nor his family, nor others. There is no doubt, however, that I have caused great unhappiness to great numbers. But for me, three great wars would not have taken place, eighty thousand men would not have been killed, and would not now be mourned by parents, brothers, sisters, and widows.'

No doubt there was something morbid in this reflection.

Much as we dislike war, there are occasions when war itself may be justifiable, and when death may be sweetened by the consolation that the life which we loved was given for the fatherland which we love too. But we like Bismarck the better for his indulgence in such reflections. They show us that he had somewhere hidden within him a softer side to his character, and they redeem the ferocious utterances which he made on the battlefields of 1870, and which he himself thought should not have been published.

There were, however, other expedients which Bismarck adopted, and which history will not approve. The Conservative will condemn his treatment of his sovereign, the Constitutional his defiance of the Legislature, the Moralist the whole course of the negotiations which preceded the war of 1870, concluding with its crowning episode, the editing of the Ems telegram, an episode which we should be ashamed to attempt to justify. But perhaps it is fair to add that in measuring the character of a great statesman it is not always possible to apply to him the same rules by which we judge the conduct of other men. In the game of international politics, which is played on the card-table of Europe, things are done, and knowingly done, which would not be tolerated in private circles. In this game Bismarck proved himself the boldest and most unscrupulous player of his time, and perhaps of all time. By fair or unfair means he was always provided with the card which could out-trump his adversary. In fact, whatever other verdict history may pronounce on Bismarck it must at least credit him with

‘the unconquerable will
And courage never to submit or yield.’

As M. Benoist has lately pointed out, he did not know what it was to doubt, or to ask himself the paralysing questions, ‘Am I sure?’ ‘Am I right?’ The word which was most frequently in his mouth, and which represented the idea ever present in his mind, was the word ‘must.’ The union of Germany *must* come, and from this one ‘must’ all the other ‘musts’ were deduced. The union of Germany *must* come, and Germany cannot work out her unity alone. Some Power *must*, then, help her. This Power *must* be either Austria or Prussia; it shall not be Austria; it *must*, then, be Prussia. But if unity be not given to Germany by Austria, it will not be given with Austria’s help; it *must*, then, be accomplished against Austria. The victory of

Prussia over Austria, however, will disturb the balance of power; it will specially affect France and Russia. These Powers *must*, then, be either won or defeated. Through family connexions, and in other ways, Russia may be won. But France, with a Napoleon on her throne, and German territory in her possession, cannot be won. France, then, *must* be fought.*

In carrying out this policy of *must*, Bismarck allied himself with no party. He said to Busch, in 1881: ‘While I have been minister, I have never belonged to any party, either Liberal or Conservative. My party consisted solely of the king and myself, and my only aims were the restoration and aggrandisement of the German Empire and the defence of monarchical authority.’ In his contempt for party government and for parliamentary tongue talk, he realised the ideas of statesmanship which were present to Carlyle; in the strength of his character he approached the aspiration which was expressed by Tennyson in ‘Maud’:

‘Ah God, for a man with heart, head, hand,
Like some of the simple great ones gone
For ever and ever by,
One still strong man in a blatant land,
Whatever they call him, what care I,
Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat—one
Who can rule.’

We wish we could finish the quotation—‘and dare not lie.’

A sense of his own strength and judgement left Bismarck little consideration for the views of others. He believed in the divine right of his king, and he had a genuine affection for his old emperor; but he never hesitated to insist on the adoption of his own views. His sovereign had to choose between the adoption of his minister’s advice and the loss of his adviser; and as the monarch thought that he could not govern without Bismarck, he had practically no alternative but to give way. Bismarck, indeed, never made the mistake—into which Cavour in his fury after Villafranca is said to have fallen—of claiming that he was the real master: ‘I am the man whom all Italians recognise; I am the real king.’ But, if Bismarck never made the claim in words, ‘the most gracious,’ as he used to call his sovereign, must have felt every year, and almost every

* This paragraph is a summary of M. Benoist’s brilliant argument in the ‘Revue des Deux Mondes,’ July 1, 1899, p. 68.

hour, of his reign that Bismarck, and not he, was the real King of Prussia, the true Emperor of Germany.

If the king, in whose divine right he believed, had to yield on all questions of importance to his imperious minister, lesser men and lesser institutions were brushed away with contempt. There was something almost brutal in the manner in which Bismarck habitually treated and spoke of the highest ladies in the land. From his subordinates he required and exacted an unfailing obedience. 'My ambassadors,' he said to one of them, 'must wheel round like non-commissioned officers at the word of command without knowing why.' He hardly treated the Legislature with more consideration than he showed for these exalted personages. There are, indeed, few things more remarkable in modern history than his determined disregard, from 1863 to 1866, of the decisions of Parliament, and his readiness to stake his own life and that of his sovereign on the issue of the contest.

If Bismarck more than any other man of the century realised the idea of the strong ruler to which Carlyle and Tennyson equally gave expression, his career illustrated the objection to concentrating power and responsibility on one man. The unhesitating obedience which he exacted had the effect of depriving him of the service of men of mark; he consequently left no one trained in the art of statesmanship capable of filling his place. Even his unparalleled success, moreover, did not prevent the catastrophe of his fall. Whatever causes may have immediately led to his dismissal, there is no doubt that the true reason for his removal lay in the determination of the present emperor to rule, and not to serve. He resented his great Chancellor's dictation, and freed himself from the restraint which it involved. He probably never paused to consider that autocracy in a monarch rests on no more permanent foundation than autocracy in a minister; and that, while the failure of a minister may involve only the change of a system, the failure of a monarch may involve the ruin of a dynasty.

These considerations, however, are not wholly relevant to our present purpose. We gladly recognise here that Bismarck was the greatest statesman of our time; that, with the exception of Cavour, no other man has wrought similar work in modern Europe; and that the work which he set himself to do, and which he did with his whole might, was on the whole advantageous to his own people

and the world. Judged by the results alone, his career both claims and deserves our admiration. But, if his achievements gain our admiration, his character cannot win either our respect or our love. It was perhaps well, both for his country and for Europe, that Germany, in the hour of her necessity, should have found a man of blood and iron to work out her future. But we may hope that his successors, while imitating him in his zeal, his industry, his unfailing loyalty towards race and country, may know how to combine consideration for others with the assertion of their own principles; may learn to play the great game of politics as vigorously, but more scrupulously; and may know how to display mercy in the hour of battle and moderation in the hour of victory.

- ART. VI.—1. *Tura.* By MEADOWS TAYLOR. London: 1898.
2. *Oakfield.* By WILLIAM ARNOLD. London: 1853.
3. *The Wetherbys, Father and Son.* By JOHN LANG. London: ? 1850.
4. *Mr. Isaacs.* By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London: 1898.
5. *Helen Treveryan.* By JOHN ROY. London: 1892.
6. *On the Face of the Waters.* By MRS. STEEL. London: 1896.
7. *Bijli the Dancer.* By JAMES BLYTHE PATTON. London: 1898.
8. *The Chronicles of Dustypore.* By H. S. CUNNINGHAM. London: 1875. And other Novels.

FOR the last 150 years India has been to Englishmen an ever-widening field of incessant activity, military, commercial, and administrative. They have been occupied, during a temporary sojourn in that country, in acquiring and developing a great dominion. No situation more unfavourable to the developement of imaginative literature could be found than that of a few thousand Europeans isolated, far from home, among millions of Asiatics entirely different from them in race, manners, and language. Their hands have been always full of business, they have been absorbed in the affairs of war and government, they have been cut off from the culture which is essential to the growth of art and letters, they have had little time for studying the antique and alien civilisation of the country. It seldom happens that the men who play a part in historical events, or who witness the sombre realities of war and serious politics, where kingdoms and lives are at stake, have either leisure or inclination for that picturesque side of things which lies at the source of most poetry and romance. And thus it has naturally come to pass that while Englishmen in India have produced histories full of matter, though often deficient in composition, and have also written much upon Oriental antiquities, laws, social institutions, and economy, they have done little in the department of novels.

That a good novel should have been produced in India was, therefore, until very recent times improbable; that it should have been successful in England was still less to be expected. For the modern reader will have nothing to do with a story full of outlandish scenes and characters; he

must be told what he thinks he knows ; he must be able to realise the points and the probabilities of a plot and of its personages ; he wants a tale that falls more or less within his ordinary experience, or that tallies with his pre-conceived notions. Accordingly, any close description of native Indian manners or people is apt to lose interest in proportion as it is exact ; its value as a painting of life is usually discernible only by those who know the country. The popular traditional East was long, and indeed still is, that which has been for generations fixed in the imagination of Western folk by the 'Arabian Nights,' by the legends of Crusaders, and by pictorial editions of the Old Testament. It is seen in the Oriental landscape and figures presented by Walter Scott in the 'Talisman,' which everyone, at least in youth, has read ; whereas the 'Surgeon's Daughter,' where the scene is laid in India, is hardly read at all. Of course there are other reasons why the former book is much more liked than the latter ; yet it was certainly not bad local colouring or unreality of detail that damaged the 'Surgeon's Daughter,' for Scott knew quite as much about Mysore and Haidar Ali as he did about Syria in the thirteenth century and Saladin. But in the 'Talisman' he was on the well-trodden ground of mediæval English history and legend ; whereas the readers of his Indian tale found themselves wandering in the fresh but then almost unknown field of India in the eighteenth century.

These are the serious obstacles which have discouraged Anglo-Indians from attempting the pure historical romance. They knew the country too well for concocting stories after the fashion of Thomas Moore's "Lalla Rookh," with gallant chieftains and beauteous maidens who have nothing Oriental about them except a few set Eastern phrases, turbans, daggers, and jewellery. They could not use the true local colour, the real temper and talk of the Indian East, without great risk of becoming neither intelligible nor interesting to the English public at large. It may be said that before our own day there has been only one author who has successfully overcome these difficulties—Meadows Taylor, who wrote a romantic novel, now almost forgotten, founded upon the history of western India in the seventeenth century. The period was skilfully chosen, for it is the time of the Moghul emperor Aurungzeb's long war against the Mahomedan kingdoms in the Dekhan, and of the Maratha insurrection under Sivaji, which eventually ruined the Moghul empire. The daring murder of a Mahomedan-

governor by Sivaji, the Maratha hero who freed his countrymen from an alien yoke, is still kept in patriotic remembrance throughout western India. Nor is there anything in such a natural sentiment that need give umbrage to Englishmen; although the liberality of a recent English governor of Bombay who headed a list of subscriptions for public commemoration of the deed, betrayed a somewhat simple-minded unreadiness to appreciate the significance of historical analogies.

Meadows Taylor has treated this subject with very creditable success. He had lived long in that part of the country; he knew the localities; he was unusually conversant with the manners and feelings of the people, and he had the luck to be among them before the old and rough state of society, with its lawless and turbulent elements, had disappeared. He had himself been in the service of a native prince whose governing methods were no better, in some respects worse, than those of the seventeenth century; and his possession of good natural literary faculty made up in him a rare combination of qualifications for venturing upon an Indian romance. The result has been that 'Tara' has not fallen into complete oblivion, though one may doubt whether it would now be thought generally readable. Although written so late as 1863, the influence of Walter Scott's mediæval romanticism shows itself in the chivalrous language of the nobles, and in a somewhat formal drawing of the leading figures, as if they were taken from a model. But all the details are truly executed. There are sketches of scenery, of interiors, of dress, arms, and manners, which are clearly the outcome of direct observation; and the incidents have a genuine flavour. The misfortune is that these are just the sterling qualities which require special knowledge and insight for their appreciation, and are therefore missed by the great majority of readers. The following picture of a party of Maratha horsemen returning from a raid may be taken as an example:—

'There might have been twenty-five to thirty men, from the youth unbearded to the grizzled trooper, whose swarthy, sunburnt face, large whiskers and moustaches touched with grey, wiry frame, and easy lounging seat in saddle, as he balanced his heavy Maratha spear across his shoulder, showed the years of service he had done. There was no richness of costume among the party; the dresses were worn and weather stained, and of motley character. Some were thickly quilted white doublets, strong enough to turn a sword-cut, or light shirts of chain-mail, with a piece of the mail or of twisted wire folded

into their turbans ; and a few wore steel morions with turbans tied round them, and steel gauntlets inlaid with gold and silver in delicate arabesque patterns. All were now soiled by the wet and mud of the day. It was clear that this party had ridden far ; and the horses, from their drooping crests and sluggish action, were evidently weary. Four of the men had been wounded in some skirmish, for they sat their horses with difficulty, and the bandages about them were covered with blood.'

No Indian novel, indeed, has been written which displays greater power of picturesque description, or better acquaintance with the distinctive varieties of castes, race, and habits, that make up the composite population of India. It was for a long time the only Indian novel in which the *dramatis personæ* are entirely native.

Although 'Tara' is unique as an Indian romance, there is another story which renders Indian life and manners with equal fidelity. 'Pandurang Hari' was written by a member of the Indian Civil Service, and first published in 1826, though it reappeared in 1874, with a preface by Sir Bartle Frere. Here again the scene is in western India, among the Marathas ; but the period belongs to the first quarter of this century. It purports to be a free translation from a manuscript given to the author by a Hindu who had in his youth served with the Maratha armies, and latterly fell in with the Pindaree hordes, from whom he heard tales of their plundering raids. He eventually joins a band of robbers, and leads a wandering, adventurous life in the hills and jungles of the Dehkan, until the general pacification of the country by the British permits or obliges him to settle down quietly. The merit of the book consists entirely in its precise and valuable delineation of the condition of the country when it was harried by the freebooting Maratha companies, and in certain glimpses which are given of Anglo-Indian life in those rough days ; for the writer, unlike Meadows Taylor, has no literary power, and can only relate accurately what he has seen or has carefully gathered from authentic sources.

We have thus only two novels worth mention which have preserved true pictures of the times before all the wild irregularity of Indian circumstance and rulership had been flattened down under the irresistible pressure of English law and order. The historical romance has shared the general decline and fall of that school in Europe ; while as for the exact reproduction of stories dealing entirely with native life, very few Anglo-Indians would now attempt it,

for such a book would find very scanty favour in England. Nearly all recent Indian novels have for their subject, not native, but Anglo-Indian society ; the heroes and heroines, in war or love, in peril or pastime, are English ; the natives take the minor or accessory part in the drama, and give the prevailing colour, tragical or comical, to the background. One of the best and earliest novels of this class is ‘Oak-field,’ written about 1853 by William Arnold, a son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who, after spending some years in one of the East India Company’s sepoy regiments, obtained a civil appointment in India, and died at Gibraltar on his way homeward. Some pathetic lines in the short poem by Matthew Arnold called ‘A Southern Night’ commemorate his untimely death. The book is remarkable for the auto-biographic description, too austere and censorious, of life in Indian cantonments, or during an Indian campaign, before the great Mutiny swept away the old sepoy army of Bengal. It represents the impression made upon a young Oxonian of high culture and serious religious feeling by the unmannerly and sometimes vicious dissipation of the officers’ mess in an ill-managed regiment stationed up the country.

Oakfield, a clergyman’s son, carefully bred up in Arnold’s school of indifference to dogma and strictness in morals, finds himself oppressed by the hollow conventionality of religious and social ideas at home, and sees no prospect of a higher level in the ordinary English professions. He leaves Oxford abruptly for an Indian cadetship, and sets out with the hope of finding wider scope for work and the earnest pursuit of loftier ideals in India. He is intensely disappointed and disgusted at finding himself, on joining his regiment, among men who have very slight education and wild manners, whose talk is coarse, who gamble, fight duels, dislike the country, and care nothing for the people. The aims and methods of the Government itself appear to him eminently unsatisfactory, being chiefly directed towards such grovelling business as revenue collection, superficial order, and public works, with little or no concern for the moral elevation of the people. When his friends urge him to study for the purpose of rising in the service, civil or military, he asks : ‘What then? What if the extra allowances have really no attraction? I want to know what the life is in which you think it good to get on. It seems to me that my object in life must be not so much to get an appointment, or to get on in the world, as to work,

' and the only work worth doing in the country is helping to civilise it.'

We have here the interesting, though not uncommon, case of a youthful enthusiast transported as if by one leap—for the sea voyage is a blank interval—from England to the Far East, from a sober and disciplined home to a loose society, from the centre of ancient peace and calm study to a semi-barbarous miscellany of races under an elementary kind of government. Ovid's banishment from Rome to the shores of the Euxine, to live among rude Roman centurions and subject Scythians, could have been no greater change, though Ovid and Oakfield are not comparable otherwise. The sight of a great Hindu fair on the river bank at Allahabad, as surveyed from the deck of a steamer, strikes him with that ever-recurrent feeling of a great gulf fixed between Europeans and natives : ' What an inconceivable separation there apparently and actually is between us few English, silently making a servant of the Ganges with our steam engines and paddles, and these Asiatics, with shouts and screams worshipping the same river ! '

He meets a cool and capable civilian, who expounds to him the practical side of all these questions and administrative problems ; and he makes a few military friends of the higher stamp, who stand by him in his refusal to fight a duel and in the court-martial which follows. Then comes the second Sikh war, with a vivid description, evidently by an eyewitness, of an officer's share in the hard-fought action at Chillianwalla, and of the other sharp contests in that eventful campaign. It is an excellent example of the skilful interweaving of real incident with the texture of fiction, showing the clear-cut lines and colour of actual experience gained in the fiercest battle ever won by the English in India :—

' The cavalry and horse-artillery dashed forward, and soon the rolling of wheels and clanking of sabres were lost in one continual roar from above a hundred pieces of artillery. On every side the shot crashed through the jungle ; branches of trees were shattered and torn from their stems ; rolling horses and falling men gave an early character to this fearful evening. . . . The 3rd Division advanced, with what fatal results to the gallant 24th Regiment is well known. . . . Either by an injudicious order, or, as stated in the official despatch, by mistaking a chance movement of their commandant for a signal, the 24th broke into a double at a distance from the guns far too great for a charge ; they arrived breathless and exhausted at the guns, where a terrific and hitherto concealed fire of musketry awaited them. The native corps came up and well sustained their European

comrades ; but both were repulsed—not until twenty-one English officers, twelve sergeants, and 450 rank and file of the 24th had been killed or wounded. . . . Oakfield counted the bodies of nine officers lying dead in as many square yards ; there lay the dead bodies of the two Pennycuicks side by side ; those of the men almost touched each other.'

The transfer of Oakfield to a civil appointment in no way diminishes his dissatisfaction at the spectacle of a Government that has no apparent ethical programme and misconceives its true mission :—

'The Indian Government is perhaps the best, the most perfect, nay, perhaps the only specimen of pure professing secularism that the civilised world has ever seen since the Christian era, and sometimes, when our eyes are open to see things as they are, such a secularism does appear a most monstrous phenomenon to be stalking through God's world. . . . When the spirit of philosophy, poetry, and godliness shall move across the world, when the philosophical reformer shall come here as Governor-General, then the spirit of Mammon may tremble for its empire, but not till then.'

Yet, notwithstanding the author's solicitude for India's welfare, the natives make no figure at all in his story ; they are barely mentioned, except where Oakfield denounces the unblushing perjury committed daily in our courts ; and one can see that he does them the very common injustice of measuring their conduct by an ideal standard of morality. Anglo-Indian officials leave their country at an early age, in almost total ignorance of the darker side of English life, as seen in a police court or wherever the passions and interests of men come into sharp conflict. But this is just the side of Indian life that is brought prominently before them, at first, as junior magistrates and revenue officers, who sometimes do not care to look into any other aspects of it ; and in consequence they stand aghast at the exhibition of vice and false-swear ing. A London magistrate transferred to Lucknow or Lahore would find much less reason for astonishment.

The same criticism applies, for similar reasons, to Oakfield's unmeasured censure of the tone and habits prevalent among officers of the old Indian army ; he probably knew nothing of regimental life in the English army sixty years ago, and therefore supposed the delinquencies of his own mess to be monstrous. It must be admitted, however, that morals and manners were loose and low in a bad sepoy regiment before the Mutiny. No two men could have differed more widely in antecedents or character than William Arnold and John.

Lang, whose novel, ‘The Wetherbys; or, A Few Chapters of ‘ Indian Experience,’ was written a few years earlier than ‘Oakfield.’ It deals with precisely the same scenes and society, at the same period, in the form of an Indian officer’s autobiography. The book is clever, amusing with a touch of vulgarity, yet undoubtedly composed with a complete knowledge of its subject; for Lang was the editor of a Meerut newspaper, who took his full share of Anglo-Indian revelry, and who knew the Indian army thoroughly. Whereas in ‘Oakfield’ the tone rises often to righteous indignation, in ‘The Wetherbys’ it falls to a strain of caustic humour, and in the modern reader’s mouth it might leave an unpleasant taste; yet the verisimilitude of the narrative would be questioned by no competent judge. As Oakfield fought at Chillianwalla, so Wetherby fights in the almost equally desperate battle of Ferozeshah, where the English narrowly escaped a great disaster; and here, again, we have a momentary ray of vivid light thrown upon the battlefield by a writer who had associated with eyewitnesses, though he was not one of them. It is difficult to give an extract from this part of the tale, because Lang’s power lies not in description, but in characteristic conversation; so we may be content, for the purpose of bringing out the contrast between two very diverse styles, with a specimen of his comic talent, as exhibited in the injunctions laid upon her husband by the vulgar half-caste wife of a poor henpecked officer just starting for the campaign:—

‘Well, then,’ she continued, ‘keep out of danger. If your troop wishes to charge into a safe place, let ‘em. You don’t want brevet rank, or any of that nonsense, I hope. Make as much bluster and row as you like, but for Heaven’s sake keep out of harni’s way. . . . You need not write to me every day, but every third or fourth day, for the postage is serious. If you should happen to kill any Sikhs, search them, and pull down their back hair; that’s where they carry their money and jewels and valuables. A sergeant of the 3rd Dragoons, like a good husband, has sent his wife down a lot of gold mohurs and some precious stones that he found tied up in the hair of a Sikh officer. And, by the bye, you may as well leave me your watch. You can always learn the time of day from somebody; and if anything happened to you, it would be sold by the Committee of Adjustment, and would fetch a mere nothing.’

This is unquestionably a grotesque caricature; yet the ladies of mixed parentage were quaint and singular persons in the India of sixty years ago. As Arnold could hardly have failed to read ‘The Wetherbys’ before he wrote

'Oakfield,' the book may have suggested to him the plan of going over the same ground upon a higher plane of thought and treatment. The two books stand as records of a state of society that has now entirely passed away, and from their perusal we may conclude that, among the many radical changes wrought upon India by the sweeping cyclone of the great Mutiny, not the least of them has been a thorough reformation of the native army.

When we turn to the Indian novels written after the Mutiny we are in the clearer and lighter atmosphere of the contemporary social novel. We have left behind the theoretic enthusiast, perplexed by the contrast between the semi-barbarism of the country and the old-fashioned apathy of its rulers, we have no more descriptions, serious or sarcastic, of rakish subalterns and disorderly regiments under ancient, incapable colonels ; we are introduced to a reformed Anglo-India, full of hard-working, efficient officers, civil and military, and sufficiently decorous, except where hill-stations foster flirting and the ordinary dissipation of any garrison town. It is, however, still a characteristic of the post-Mutiny stories that they find very little room for natives ; the secret of successfully interpreting Indian life and ideas to the English public in this form still awaits discovery. One of the best and most popular of the new school was the late Sir George Chesney, whose 'Battle of Dorking' was a stroke of genius, and who utilised his Indian experiences with very considerable literary skill, weaving his projects of army reform into a lively tale of everyday society abroad and at home. The scene of 'A True Reformer' opens at Simla, under Lord Mayo's vice-royalty, names and places being very thinly disguised ; the hero marries a pretty girl, and starts homeward on furlough, thereby giving the writer his opportunity for bringing in a description of a railway journey across India to Bombay in the scorching heat of May :—

'And now the day goes wearily on, marked only by the change of the sun's shadow, the rising of the day-wind and its accompaniment of dust, and the ever-increasing heat. The country is everywhere the same—a perfectly flat, desert-looking plain of reddish brown hue, with here and there a village, its walls of the same colour. It looks a desert, because there are no signs of crops, which were reaped two months ago, and no hedgerows, but here and there an acacia tree. Not a traveller is stirring on the road, not a soul to be seen in the fields, but an occasional stunted bullock is standing in such shade as their trees afford. At about every ten miles a station is reached,

each exactly like the previous one and the next following. . . . Gradually the sun went down, the wind and dust subsided, and another stifling night succeeded, with uneasy slumbers, broken by the ever-recurring hubbub of the stoppages.'

On reaching home Captain West learns, like the elder Wetherby in Lang's story, that an uncle has died leaving him a good income; so he enters Parliament, and the remainder of his autobiography is entirely occupied by an account of his efforts in the cause of army reform, which eventually succeed when he has overcome the scruples and hesitation of the prime minister—Mr. Merriman, a transparent pseudonym. The author's plan of endeavouring to interest his readers in professional and technical questions is very creditably carried out, for the book is throughout readable; and it also shows that on the subject of military organisation Chesney was often in advance of his time; but the scene changes from India to England so very early in the narrative that this novel takes a place on our list more by reason of its Anglo-Indian authorship than of its connexion with India.

In 'The Dilemma,' on the other hand, Chesney gives us a story with characters and catastrophes drawn entirely from the sepoy mutiny. The main interest centres round the defence of a house in some up-country station that is besieged by the mutineers, and for such a purpose the writer could supply himself, at discretion, from the abundant repertory of adventures and the variety of personal conduct—heroic, humorous, or otherwise astonishing—which had been provided by actual and recent events. We have here, indeed, a dramatic version of real history; and, since the original of an intensely tragic situation must always transcend a literary adaptation of it, the fiction necessarily suffers by comparison with the fact. Yet the novel contends not unsuccessfully with this disadvantage, and in the lapse of years, as the real scenes and piercing emotions stirred up by a bloody struggle fade into distance, the value of Chesney's work may increase. For it preserves a true picture, drawn at first hand, of the time, the circumstances, and the behaviour of an isolated group of English folk who, while living in a state of profound peace and apparent security, found themselves suddenly obliged to fight desperately for their lives against an enemy from whom no quarter, even for women and children, could be expected in case of defeat.

We may now take up a book of a very different kind, the

production, not of an Anglo-Indian amateur, but of an eminent English novelist who has lived, though not long, in India—Mr. Marion Crawford. Here we are back again in the region of romance, for, although the story opens at Simla in Lord Lytton's reign and during the second Affghan war, Mr. Isaacs, the hero (whose name gives the book its title) is outwardly a Persian dealer in precious gems, but esoterically an adept in the mysteries of what has been called occult Buddhism. This queer science, as professed by a certain Madame Blavatsky, had much vogue in Northern India about 1879, particularly at Simla. To sceptics it appeared to be an adroit mixture of charlatany and mere juggling tricks, with some elementary knowledge of the beliefs and practices of the true Indian Yogi, who seeks to attain supernatural powers by rigid asceticism, and who has really some insight into secret mental phenomena, being in this line of discovery the forerunner of the English Psychical Society.

The part played in this story by Mr. Isaacs, who is not in all respects an imaginary personage, might remind one of Disraeli's Sidonia. He is an enigmatic character, versed in the philosophy of the East and the West, who excels on horseback and in tiger shooting, yet can discourse mystically and can bring the mysterious influences at his command to bear upon critical situations. The novel has thus two sides: we have the usual sketch of Anglo-Indian society—the soldiers, the civilians, the charming young English girl whom Mr. Isaacs fascinates. But a writer of Mr. Crawford's high repute is bound to put some depth and originality into his Indian tale, and so we have the Pandit Ram Lal, who is somehow also a Buddhist, and who is Mr. Isaacs's colleague whenever occult Buddhism is to give warning or timely succour. The chief exploit occurs in a wondrous expedition to rescue and carry away into Tibet the Affghan Amir, Sher Ali, who had just then actually fled from Kabul before the advance of an English army; and it must be confessed that so fantastic an adventure sounds rather startling in connexion with a bit of authentic contemporary history.

On the whole, whether we assume that the object of a novel is to illustrate history, or to present a faithful reflection of life and manners, or to render strenuous action dramatically yet not improbably—by whatever standard we measure Mr. Crawford's book, it cannot be awarded a high place on the list of Indian fiction. But we have run over this list so rapidly, touching only upon typical examples, that we are now among the latest writers of the present day;

and we may take 'Helen Treveryan' (1892) as a very favourable specimen of their productions. Comparing it with earlier novels, we may remark, in the first place, that there is no great variety of plot or treatment, Anglo-Indian society being everywhere, and at most times, very much the same, except so far as closer intercourse with Europe softens down its roughness, materially and morally, increases the feminine element, and assimilates its outer form to the English model. 'Helen Treveryan,' whose author is a very distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, is, like all other novels of the kind, the narrative of the adventures, in love and war, of a young English military officer in India. The characters are evidently drawn from life; the main incidents belong to very recent Indian history; the description of society in an up-country station, with which the movement of the drama begins, is an exact and humorous photograph. A tiger hunt is done better, with more knowledge of the business, than a similar episode in Mr. Crawford's novel; and the passionate love between Guy Langley and Helen Treveryan is well painted in bright colours to intensify the gloom and pathos of Langley's death in battle.

As Chesney went to the sepoy mutiny for his scenes of tragedy and heroism, so Sir Mortimer Durand (we believe that the original pseudonym has been dropped) takes them from the second Affghan war, having been at Kabul with General Roberts in the midst of hard fighting, where he first placed his foot on the ladder which has led him upward to high places and unusual distinction. In the chapters describing the march upon Kabul, its occupation, the rising of the tribes, and their attack upon the British army beleaguered in the Sherpur entrenchments, we have simply a memoir of actual events, written with truth, spirit, and with the pictorial skill of an artist who understands the value and proportion of romantic details. The English commanders, the Affghan sirdars, and several other well-known folk are mentioned by name; the skirmishes and perilous situations are described just as they really occurred. No book could better serve the purpose of a home-keeping Englishman who might desire to see as in a moving photograph what was going on in the British camp before Kabul during the perilous winter of 1879-80, to hear the camp-talk, and to realise the nature and methods of Affghan fighting.

'He turned to the westward, and as he did so there was a flicker in the darkness, where the rugged top of the Asmai Hill could just

be made out. For an instant there was perfect silence ; then, as the flame caught and flared, there rose from the men around him a low, involuntary "A—h," such as one may sometimes hear at Lord's when a dangerous wicket goes down. Then in the distance two musket shots rang out, and after them a few more ; but along the cantonment wall all was silent ; men stood with beating hearts awaiting the onslaught. For some minutes the suspense lasted, and then suddenly burst from the darkness a wild storm of yells, "Allah, Allah, Allah," and fifty thousand Affghans came with a rush at the wall, shouting and firing. The cantonment was surrounded by a broad continuous ring of rifle-flashes, and over the parapet and over the trenches the bullets began to stream.'

But the subjoined extract, which gives Langley's death, is a better example of the book's general style—cool, circumstantial, abhorrent of glitter or exaggeration, leaving a clear impression of things actually witnessed and done, a brief glimpse of one of the incidents that remain stamped on the brain of those who saw it, but are otherwise forgotten in war-time, after a day or two's regret for the lost comrade.

'They were all weary, and marched carelessly forward in silence. The night was closing fast, and a little fine snow was falling. . . . There was a sudden flash in the darkness to the right, a shot, and then a scattering volley. Guy Langley threw up his arms with a cry, and as the startled horse swerved across the road he fell with a dull thud on the snow. There was a moment of confusion, but the Sikhs, though careless, were good soldiers, and two or three of them dashed towards the low wall from which the shots had come. They were just in time to see four men running across a bit of broken ground towards a deep water-cut, fringed with poplars. The horsemen were very quick after them, being light men on hardy horses ; and one of the four Affghans, a big man in a dirty sheepskin coat, lost his head, and ran down under a bit of wall ; the other three crossed the water-cut. The horsemen saw the position at once, and rode after the man on their side of the trench. They were up to him in a minute, and Atar Singh made a lunge at him with his lance ; but the Affghan avoided it, and swinging up his heavy knife cut the boy across the hand. Before he could turn to run again a second horseman was on him, and with a grim "Hyun—Would you ?" drove the lance through his chest.'

The dialogue is occasionally used to bring out contending views in regard to Indian politics, as might be expected from a writer who has thoroughly studied them. At a Simla dinner party the conversation turns upon the question

* 'ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν μὲν καταθάπτειν, ὃς κε θύργοι,
ιηλέα θυμὸν ἔχοντας, ἐπ' ἥμαρι δακρύσαντας.'

(Iliad xix. 228, 229.)

whether, in the event of a collision between the armed forces of Russia and England on the Indian frontier, the Anglo-Indian army could hold its own successfully against such a serious enemy. We have on one side the man of dismal forebodings, so well known in India, and against him the hopeful, resolute officer, who lays just stress on England's superior position, with all the strength and resources of India and the British empire at her back. One supremely important point in the discussion is, by consent of both speakers, the probable behaviour in such a crisis of the native Indian army; and we may here express our agreement with the view that our best native regiments would prove themselves faithful soldiers and formidable antagonists to the Russians. As is well said in the course of the argument, the Sikhs and Goorkhas faced us well when they fought us, 'and with English officers to lead them, why should they not face the Russians? . . . I believe the natives will be true to us if we are true to ourselves; some few are actively disloyal, but not the mass of them. If we begin to falter they will go, of course; but if we show them we mean fighting they will fight too.' This is the true political creed for Englishmen in India, outside of which there is no salvation, but the reverse.

It is perhaps to be regretted that so capable a writer upon Indian subjects has given us nothing of native life and character beyond a few *silhouettes*; and after Guy Langley's death, when the scene is transferred entirely to England, the story's interest decidedly flags. Yet we may fairly assign a high place in the series of Indian novels to '*Helen Treveryan*', not only for its literary merits, but also for the historical value of the chapters which preserve the day-by-day experience of one who took his share in the culminating dangers and difficulties of an arduous campaign.

Mrs. Steele's book, '*On the Face of the Waters*', has been so widely read and reviewed since it appeared, so lately as 1897, that another criticism of it may appear stale and superfluous; yet to omit mentioning in this article the most popular of recent Indian novels would be impossible. Here, at any rate, is a book which is not open to the remark that the Anglo-Indian novelist usually leaves the natives in the background, or admits them only as supernumeraries. For Mrs. Steele's canvas is crowded with Indian figures; their talk, their distinctive peculiarities of character and costume, their parts in the great tragedy which is taken as the ground-plan of her story, are so abundantly described as occasionally

to bewilder the inexperienced reader. The scene of action is the Sepoy mutiny at Meerut and the siege of Delhi, and while the Indian *dramatis personæ* are mainly types of different classes and castes—except where, like the King of Delhi, they are historical—the English army leaders act and speak under their own names, as in Durand's book, being of course modelled upon the ample personal knowledge of them still obtainable from their surviving contemporaries in India.

The book, in fact, attempts, as is frankly stated in its preface, 'to be at once a story and a history.' And we observe that Mrs. Steele tells us, as if it were a credit and a recommendation to her work, that she 'has not allowed "fiction to interfere with fact in the slightest degree.'

'The reader may rest assured that every incident bearing in the remotest degree on the Indian Mutiny, or on the part which real men took in it, is scrupulously exact, even to the date, the hour, the scene, the weather. Nor have I allowed the actual actors in the great tragedy to say a word regarding it which is not to be found in the accounts of eyewitnesses, or in their own writings.'

Is such minute matter-of-fact copying a virtue in the novelist? or is it not rather a defect arising out of a misunderstanding of the principles of his art? In our opinion the business of the novelist, even when he chooses an historical subject, is not to reproduce as many exact details as he can pick out of memoirs, official reports, and histories, but, on the contrary, to avoid making up his story out of a string of extracts and personal reminiscences, or at any rate to use his skill rather for disguising than for disclosing the precise verbal accuracy of his borrowed material. What would be thought of a naval romance that adopted, word for word, the authentic account of Nelson's death, or of a military novel that seasoned a full and particular account of Waterloo with a few imaginary characters and incidents? Anyone who has observed how two fine writers, Thackeray and Stendhal, have brought that famous battle into the plot of their masterpieces ('Vanity Fair' and 'La Chartreuse de 'Parme'), will have noticed that they carefully avoid the crude and undisguised employment of detail, either in words or incidents; they allow fiction to interfere very constantly with fact in all petty matters of this sort; their art consists, not in historical accuracy, but in verisimilitude; they discard authentic phrases and incidents; they do not aim at precision, but at dramatic probabilities. But Mrs. Steele does not only draw too copiously, for a novelist, upon history; she also undertakes to pass authoritative judgements upon

disputable questions of fact and situation, with which fiction, we submit, has no concern. She very plainly intimates that nothing but culpable inaction and want of energy prevented instant pursuit by a force from Meerut of the mutineers who made a forced march upon Delhi on the night of May 10, and whose arrival produced the insurrection in that city.

'Delhi lay,' she says, 'but thirty miles distant on a broad white road, and there were horses galore and men ready to ride them—men like Captain Rosser, of the Carabineers, who pleaded for a squadron, a field battery, a troop, or a gun—anything with which to dash down the road and cut off that retreat to Delhi.'

To argue the point in this review would be to fall into the very error on which we desire to lay stress, of attempting to deal with serious history in a light, literary way. We shall therefore be content with reminding our readers that Lord Roberts, who is perhaps the very best living authority on the subject, has come to the conclusion, after a careful survey of the circumstances, that the refusal of the Meerut commanders to pursue the mutineers was justifiable.

Yet Mrs. Steele's performance is better than her principles. The unquestionable success of 'On the Face of the Waters' is in no way due to her scrupulous exactitude in particulars, for if this had been the book's chief feature it would have failed. She has a clear and spirited style; she knows enough of India to be able to give a fine natural colour to the stirring scenes of the Sepoy mutiny, and to execute good character-drawing of the natives, as they are to be studied among the various classes in a great city. And whenever her good genius takes her off the beaten road of recorded fact her narrative shows considerable imaginative vigour. The massacres at Meerut and Delhi, the wild tumult, terror, and agony, are energetically described; and her picture of the confusion inside Delhi during the siege is admirably worked up, remembering that she wrote forty years after the event, at a time when the people and even the places had very greatly changed. The storming of the breach at the Kashmir gate by the forlorn hope that led the English column is dexterously brought into an animated narrative; and although that story has been much better told in Lord Roberts's autobiography, we need not look too austere on the crowd of readers who find history more attractive under a thin and embroidered veil of fiction.

A still more recent novel, entitled 'Bijli the Dancer' (1898), should be mentioned here, not only for its intrinsic merits, but also because the author has boldly faced the

problem of constructing a story out of the materials available from purely native society, the stock themes and characters of Anglo-India being entirely discarded. Bijli is a professional dancing girl, whose grace and accomplishments so fascinate a great Mahomedan landholder of north India, that he persuades her to abandon her profession and to abide with him as his mistress. This arrangement is correctly treated in the book as quite consistent with the maintenance of due respect and consideration for the Nawab's lawful wife, who occupies separate apartments, and, according to Mahomedan ideas in that rank of society, has no reasonable ground for complaint. Yet Bijli, though she has every comfort, and is deeply attached to her lord, grows restless in her luxurious solitude ; she pines for the excitement and triumphs of singing and dancing before an assembly. So, in the Nawab's absence, she takes professional disguise, and sings with a lute in the harem before his wife. To those who would like to see a Mahomedan lady of high rank in full dress, the following description of costume may be commended :—

' She was dressed and adorned with scrupulous care ; her eyebrows trimmed of every stray hair that might deform the beauty-arch ; the lids pencilled with lampblack ; the palms of her hands and the soles of her feet stained with henna ; not one stray lock encroached on the straight parting of her glossy hair.

' She wore gold-embroidered trousers of purple satin, loose below the knee and full over the ankles, and fastened round her waist by a gold cord with jewelled tassels. A black crape bodice adorned with spangles and gold edging confined her full bosom, and an open vest of grey gauze with long, tight sleeves hung loosely over her waistband. Upon the back of her head was thrown a veiling-sheet of the fine muslin known as the dew of Dacca. Her feet and hands, arms and wrists and neck, were adorned with numerous rings, jewels, and chains, and from her nose was hung a ring of gold wire, on which was strung a ruby between two grey pearls.'

But Bijli's intrusion into the harem is a grave breach of etiquette ; she is detected, and told to be gone, though the lady bears her no malice. The incident brings home to her a sense of degradation ; she asks the Nawab to marry her, and her discontent is increased by his refusal, until at last she escapes secretly from his house. The Nawab follows, and finds her in a hut on the bank of a flooded river which has stopped her flight ; but after a really pathetic interview she returns to her free life—and 'thus ended the romance of Bijli the Dancer.'

In this short story, written with much truth and feeling,

the style and handling rises above the commonplace device of dressing up European sentimentality in the garb and phraseology of Asia ; and we have, so far as can be judged, a fairly real picture of the inner and the emotional side of native life in India, sufficiently tinged with romantic colouring. The fascination which professional dancers often exercise over natives of the highest rank is a well-known feature of Indian society ; and although the dancer is always a courtesan, yet to invest her with a capacity for tender and honourable affection is by no means to overstep the limits of probability. We have noticed this book because it proves that the study of native manners, and sympathetic insight into their feelings and character, still survive among Anglo-Indians, albeit officials ; and because it stands out in quiet relief among tales of fierce wars and savage mutiny ; it neither chronicles the heroic deeds of Englishmen, nor does it devote even a single page to the loves, sorrows, or comic misadventures that break the monotony of a British cantonment.

'The Chronicles of Dustypore,' by H. S. Cunningham, takes us back again from the sombre, half-veiled interior of an Indian household, into the fierce light which beats upon English society at some station in the sun-dried plains of the Punjab. We have here a sketch, half satirical, half in earnest, of official work and ways, with one or two personages that can be easily identified from among the provincial notabilities of twenty years ago. The book, which had considerable success in its time, will still provide interest and amusement for those who enjoy an exceedingly clever delineation of familiar scenes and characters ; and it is in the main as true and lively a picture of Anglo-Indian life as when it was first written. Here is the summer landscape of the Sandy Tracts, a region just annexed to British administration after the usual skirmish with, and discomfiture of, the native ruler :—

'Vast plains, a dead level but for an occasional clump of palms or the dome of some despoiled and crumbling tomb, stretched away on every side and ended in a hazy, quivering horizon that spoke of infinite heat. Over these ranged herds of cattle and goats, browsing on no one could see what ; or bewildered buffaloes would lie, panting and contented, in some muddy pool, with little but horns, eyes, and nostrils exposed above the surface. Little ill-begotten stunted plants worked hard to live and grow and to weather the roaring fierce winds. The crows sat gasping, open-beaked, as if protesting against having been born into so sulphureous an existence. Here and there a well, with its huge lumbering wheel and patient bullocks went creaking

and groaning night and day, as if earth grudged the tiny rivulet coming so toilfully from her dry breast, and gave it up with sighs of pain. The sky was cloudless, pitiless, brazen. The sun rose into it without a single fleck of vapour to mitigate its fierceness . . . all day it shone and glistened and blazed, until the very earth seemed to crack with heat and the mere thought of it was pain.'

Such is the environment in which many English officers live and labour for years; and this is the side of Anglo-Indian existence that is unknown to, and consequently unappreciated by, the rapid tourist, who runs by railway from one town to another during the bright cold winter months, is delighted with the climate and the country, takes note of the deficiencies or peculiarities of Anglo-Indians, and has a very short memory for their hospitality. The narrative carries us, as a matter of course, to a Himalayan Elysium, with its balls, picnics, and its flirtations, among which the leading lady of the piece is drawn to the brink of indiscretion, but steps happily back again into the secure haven of domestic felicity. A good deal of excellent light comedy and sparkling dialogue will always maintain for this novel a creditable place upon the Indian list; and as an indirect illustration of the social wall that separates ordinary English folk from the population which surrounds them, it is complete, since we have here a story plotted out upon the stage of a great Indian province which contains absolutely no mention of the natives beyond occasional necessary reference to the servants.

For a strong contrast to 'Dustypore,' both in subject and style of treatment, we may take a story which merits notice, even though it be hardly long enough to be ranked among Indian novels. 'The Bond of Blood,' by R. E. Forrest (1896), draws, like 'Bijli the Dancer,' its incidents and their environment exclusively from Indian life; and the book may be placed high in this class of difficult work, which few have ventured to attempt, and where success has been very rare. It is a study of peculiarly local manners, that may be also called contemporary; for though the period belongs to the early years of this century, yet the sure drawing from life of a skilful hand may still be verified by those readers who actually know the customs and feelings at the present day of the Rajpút clans, among whom primitive ideas and institutions have been less obliterated in the independent States than in any other region of India. The descriptive and personal sketches attest the writer's gift of close observation; there is good workmanship in all the details; his sentences hit the mark and are never overcharged or super-

fluous. The tale is of a dissipated Rajpút chief, to whom a moneylender has lent a large sum upon a bond which has been endorsed by the sign-manual of the family Bhât, or hereditary bard, herald, and genealogist—an office of great repute and importance in every noble Rajpút house. Debauchees and cunning gamblers empty the chief's purse; the moneylender, an honest man enough in his way, is obliged to press him for the sum due; until at last the bewildered chief is persuaded by one of the gamblers to declare flatly that he will not pay at all, whereupon the creditor falls back upon the surety. Now the Bhât has pledged upon the bond not his property but his life, according to an ancient and authentic custom among Rajpút folk, as formerly throughout India, whereby a man who has no other means of enforcing a just claim against a powerful debtor has always the resource of bringing down upon him a fearful curse by committing suicide before his door. The Rajpút chief pretends that the bond is illegal and void, being founded upon an obsolete custom disallowed by the English rulers; but in truth he has brought himself to believe that the blood penalty will not really be paid, and he is struck with horror when the Bhât, after formal and public warning, stabs his own mother in the chief's presence, whereupon the curse falls and clings to the family. We may add that the substitution of the Bhât's mother for himself as an expiatory victim is in accordance with accepted precedents on such occasions, while it makes room for a pathetic situation, and greatly enhances the dramatic interest of the closing scene. Here we have the antique Oriental version of the story in Shakespeare's 'Merchant of Venice,' where Shylock takes the same kind of security from Antonio, upon whose person he subsequently demands execution of his bond of blood; nor does the law refuse it to him. But the Hindu custom is so far milder than the Venetian code that the Rajpút Shylock could not have rejected a tender of full payment in cash. Mr. Forrest's tale might be turned into an effective stage-tragedy if the main incident were not too shockingly improbable for Europeans, although to an Indian audience it would be credible enough. The final scene of the mother's death is stamped on the reader's imagination by the writer's power of giving intense significance not only to the speech but to slight movements of the actors, so that the mental picture becomes almost objective, while the strained expectation of the crowd makes itself felt by the force of the words.

“ Will you redeem the bond ? ” asks the herald once more.

“ Say ‘ No,’ ” exclaims Takht Singh.

“ No,” shouts Hurdeo Singh (the chief).

“ Then blood must be shed at your door, and the life forfeit paid at your threshold, so that the curse may alight upon you and your house.”

He draws the dagger from its sheath. He had not laid his hand upon its handle in the same manner that he would have laid it on the hilt of his sword, but the reverse way to that ; he puts the palm of his hand under it and not over it, so he could best use it in the way intended to use it—so could he best strike the blow he meant to strike.

“ Begone ! Begone ! ” shouts Hurdeo Singh, waving him away with his hand.

The people around stand fixed as statues, eyes straining, necks craning. The herald stretches his left arm behind his mother, and she, throwing open her *chudder*, leans back against it. . . .

The money-lender had given a sudden cry, stretched out his hand, uttered some words.

When Hurdeo Singh had beheld the herald raise his right arm, his own had gone up with it, and from his mouth had come the cry, “ I don’t ! Don’t.”

But it was too late. The herald had raised his arm, turned round his head, and plunged the sharp stiletto into his mother’s breast.

It would be scarcely possible in an article that ranges over the light literature of Anglo-India to omit mentioning the name of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, who is the most prominent and by far the most popular of Anglo-Indian authors. Yet our reference to his writings must be very brief, since most of them lie beyond the scope of our present subject ; for although Mr. Kipling’s short stories are famous, and he is a consummate artist in black and white, yet in the complete edition of his volumes up to date there is, in fact, but one full-sized Indian novel, and for this he is only responsible in part. Nor, assuming that the Indian chapters of the ‘ Naulakha ’* may be ascribed to him, would it be fair criticism to treat them as good samples of his work, or as illustrating his distinctive genius. The attempt in this story to bring together West and East, and to strike bold contrasts by setting down a Yankee fresh from Colorado before the palace gate of a Maharaja in the sands of western Rajputana, is too daring a venture ; and the plot’s developement, though here and there are some touches of true vision and some vigorous passages, labours under

* ‘ Naulakha,’ by Rudyard Kipling and W. Balestier. London, 1892.

the weight of its extravagant improbability. The American's restless energy, brought face to face with Oriental immobility, expresses itself in the following way :—

'It made him tired to see the fixedness, the apathy, and lifelessness of this rich and populous world, which should be up and stirring by rights—trading, organising, inventing, building new towns, making the old ones keep up with the procession, laying new railroads, going in for fresh enterprises, and keeping things humming.'

"They've got resources enough," he said. "It isn't as if they had the excuse that the country's poor. It's a good country. Move the population of a lively Colorado town to Rhatore, set up a good local paper, organise a board of trade, and let the world know what is here, and we'd have a boom in six months that would shake the empire. But what's the use? They're dead. They're mummies. They're wooden images. There isn't enough real, old-fashioned, downright rustle and razzle-dazzle and 'git up and git' in Gokral Seetaram to run a milk-cart."

Such indeed might be the sentiments of an eager speculator who found himself among primitive folk. But the discord of ideas puts the whole piece so completely out of tune as to produce only a harsh and jarring sensation; the rough Western man is thoroughly out of his element, and flounders heavily, like a cockney among mediæval crusaders. This must be taken in fairness to be the result of collaboration, for in his own short stories Mr. Kipling never commits solecisms of the kind; on the contrary, he excels in the shading of strong local colours, and in the rapid, unerring delineation of characters that stand out in clear relief, yet blend with and act upon each other when they encounter. But Mr. Kipling's volumes would require a separate article to themselves, so that we will merely take this occasion of recording our wish that he may some day turn his unique faculty of painting real Indian pictures toward the composition of a novel which shall *not* be about Anglo-Indian society (for the thin soil of that field has already been over-harrowed), but shall give a true and lively rendering of the thoughts which strike an imaginative Englishman when he surveys the whole moving landscape of our Indian empire, watches the course of actual events, and tries to forecast its probable destiny.

It has been manifestly impossible in this brief article to do more than touch upon a few books that may illustrate the prominent characteristics, and the general place in light literature, of Indian novels. This must explain why we

have omitted several other works, of which 'Transgression' * is the latest. In this tale we have a sketch of life on the North-West Frontier at the present day, with some well-known incidents of the Afridi war of 1897-98 introduced, and so coloured from the writer's own point of view as to convey, under a thin varnish of fiction, some sharp and sarcastic criticism on the management of affairs, the politics of the Government, and the personal behaviour of certain officials, who can be at once identified. Although the book is not without interest as a true account of hazardous and stirring frontier duties, we are bound to repeat our warning that this abuse of the novel for controversial purposes is not only unfair, but profoundly inartistic. No literary success, but failure and the confusion of styles, lies that way.

What, then, are the conclusions which we may draw from this brief survey of the more prominent and typical Indian novels? To the repertory of English fiction, which is perhaps the largest and most varied that any national literature contains, they have undoubtedly made a not unworthy contribution; for we may agree that fiction has some, if not the highest, value when it produces an animated representation of life and manners, even upon a limited and distant field. In the present instance the narrow range of plot and character that may be observed in the pure Anglo-Indian novel reflects the uniformity of a society which consists almost entirely, outside the Presidency capitals on the sea-coast, of civil and military officials—a society that is also upon one level of class and of age, for among the English in India there are neither old men nor boys and girls; the men and women are in the prime of life, with a number of small children. This age-limit lops off from both ends of human existence a certain proportion of the characters that are available for filling up the canvas of the social novelist at home. And it is in truth a peculiar feature, not only of Anglo-Indian society, but of the Anglo-Indian administration, because the enforced retirement of almost every officer after the age of fifty-five years greatly diminishes the influence of weighty and mature experience exercised by the senior men in the services and government of most countries. In regard to the equality of class it may be observed that here also the

* 'Transgression,' by S. S. Thorburn. London, 1899..

lack of variety produces a similar dearth of materials ; we miss the picturesque contrasts of rich and poor, of towns-folk and country folk, of the diverse groups which make up a European population. The 'short and simple annals of 'the poor' cannot be woven into the Indian tapestry which records higher and broader scenes ; the peasantry, for example, whose quaint figures and idioms are so useful in English novels, do not come into the Anglo-Indian tale. They cannot be blended in fiction with the foreign element because they are wholly apart in reality. In short, the whole company that play upon the exclusively Anglo-Indian stage belong to one grade of society, and the hero is invariably a military officer.

The most popular of Anglo-Indian novels are probably those which deal in exact reproduction of ordinary incidents and conversation, related in a sprightly and humorous style. This accords with the taste of present-day readers, many of whom take up a book only for the momentary amusement that it gives them, and are well content with interminable dialogues that do little more than echo, with a certain spice of epigram and smart repartee, the commonplaces interchanged among clever people at a country house or in a London drawing-room. Nevertheless we believe that Anglo-Indian fiction is seen at its best in the novel of action, since war and love-making must still, as formerly, rule the whole kingdom of romance ; since as emotional forces they are the same in every climate and country. Each successive campaign in India, from the first Afghan war to the latest expedition across the Afridi frontier, has furnished the Anglo-Indian writer with a new series of striking incidents that can be used for his heroic deeds and dire catastrophes, for new landscapes and figures, all of them bearing the very form and stamp of impressive reality. If he is artist enough to avoid abusing these advantages, if he is neither an extravagant colourist nor a mere copyist or compiler, he has this fresh field to himself, he can give us a stirring narrative of frontier adventures, he can sketch in the aspect of a country or the distinctive qualities of a people that have preserved many of the features which in Europe have now vanished into the dim realms of early romance. His danger lies, as we have seen from some examples already quoted, in the temptation to make too much use of the attractive materials that are readily found to hand in military records or in such a real tragedy as the Sepoy mutiny, so that the novel is liable to

become little more than authentic history related in a glowing, exuberant style of writing and portraiture.

In short, the Indian novel belongs to the objective outdoor class ; it is full of open air and activity, and the introspective psychological vein is almost entirely wanting. There are, indeed, passages which indicate that peculiar sense of the correlation, so to speak, of the environment with the moods and feelings of men, the influence upon the human mind of nature—a sense which has inspired some of our finest poetry, and which is so well rendered by the best Russian novelists, by Tourguéneff and by Tolstoi. One work of Tolstoi's, ‘*Les Cosaques*,’ might be especially recommended for study to the Anglo-Indian novelist of the future, as an example of the true impress that can be made upon a reader's mind by the literary art, when it succeeds in giving vivid interest to the picture of a solitary officer's life upon a dull and distant frontier.

ART. VII.—1. *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records.*

Edited by F. A. INDERWICK, Q.C. Vol. I., 1505–1603.
London : 1896. Vol. II., 1603–1660. London : 1898.

2. *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn.*
Vol. I., 1422–1586. Vol. II., 1586–1660. London : 1897,
1898.

THREE is sometimes to be seen in an English landscape the remains of a great tree, firmly rooted in the ground ; a huge immovable trunk, the branches gone, only a few feeble green shoots indicate that life still exists in it. An Inn of Court at the present time may be likened to such a tree : it is there, fast rooted among the English institutions, having a certain ancient picturesqueness, but maimed, and with little of its former vigour and luxuriance left. Yet it is so firmly fixed that it is less likely to be removed than many younger growths.

From a purely utilitarian point of view the Inns of Court are anachronisms. When we compare their elaborate but unwritten constitutions, their buildings and their revenues, with the present practical result, the difference between their functions now and in the past is remarkable. They have ceased to be great educational bodies ; their sole business is to admit to the Bar those who desire to practise as advocates in England. Certain tests of fitness are required from those so admitted ; and to enable students to pass the examinations instruction is given. But the passing of the examination is the main point upon which the student sets his mind. Thus the Inns of Court are rather examining than educational bodies. They are also the owners of premises which are the business resort of one branch of the legal profession, but this fact cannot be regarded as in any sense a fulfilment of a public duty ; it is now the result of a long-continued custom, but it is a thing which could be as well, if not better, managed by a limited company of ten years' existence as by a society which counts its lifetime by centuries.

Moreover, the recent creation of a General Council of the Bar has not only deprived the Inns of Court of their old disciplinary functions, but has made the unfitness of these societies to control a part of the legal education of the country more obvious. Yet still they are here, and here they will certainly remain, the object of constant criticism, more historically interesting than practically useful.

To-day, as we have said, the Inns of Court fill a compara-

tively small place in the legal system of England, and are of no account at all in the social life of the time. Thus their legal and their social importance in the past is apt to be overlooked and forgotten. But England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries cannot be understood without a proper recognition of the place filled by the Inns of Court, just as to know the society and the politics of Great Britain at the end of the eighteenth century we must appreciate the clubs and coteries of St. James's Street.

For the true realisation of an institution in the past we require to have before us what may be termed the details of the day, and it is impossible to obtain exact information in any other manner than from original documents. Some years ago we gave a sketch of the town life of the Middle Ages, based on the researches which Mrs. J. R. Green made into the civic records and the minutiae of borough life in the past. The opportunity has now been given to study in detail the history of the Inns of Court in mediæval times. We have not to trust only to the statements of Fortescue or Dugdale; the records of the Inner Temple and of Lincoln's Inn can be perused in the fullest detail. Some cynics may remark that the Inns of Court would have done well not to exhibit the vigour of their earlier days so markedly in contrast with the decrepitude of the present. But the historical student will rightly thank these societies not only for their public spirit in publishing these records, but for the admirable manner in which they have been produced. The Inns of Court, unlike the Historical Manuscripts Commission, have recognised that, if a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well, and the discreditable appearance of the reports of the Commission is made more obvious by contrast with these handsome volumes. To each is prefixed an excellent introduction—to the Records of the Inner Temple by Mr. Inderwick, Q.C.; to the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn by Mr. Douglas Walker, Q.C., the text and index being prepared in the one case by Mr. W. Pace, F.S.A., in the other by Mr. W. P. Baildon, F.S.A. The records and introductions thus constitute a permanent history of the Inns of Court, and in a form which will adorn a library.

The records of Lincoln's Inn carry us farthest back. They are called the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn, and begin from 1422, in the first year of the reign of Henry VI. They do not, however, cover the whole history of the Inn as a legal society or college. Older documents there no doubt were, which contained the entries relative to this earlier period.

But the existing Black Books contain an immense mass of detailed information, in which, among much that is trivial, interesting and important facts are embedded :—

' Besides the admissions, the Black Book contains entries of the most varied character : the names of those yearly filling the different offices of the society ; the names, after 1518, of those called by the society to its Bench and Bar ; the minutes of the governing body ; the yearly accounts of the two great officers of the society, the Pensioner and the Treasurer ; the accounts of members to whom the special superintendence of some building or other work had been entrusted ; narrations of public events.' (Vol. i. p. i.)

The Temple has been less fortunate. The Bench Table orders and the accounts down to the reign of James I. have disappeared, as well as a number of old records, rolls, and writings which are referred to in the documents which are, happily, still in existence, and which begin in 1505. The loss of the Inner Temple records would have been more to be lamented if it were not for the preservation of those which belong to Lincoln's Inn. The actual life, whether educational or social, of the two societies did not greatly differ, so that by the aid of the records of Lincoln's Inn we are able to survey the system of legal education in England for nearly five centuries, as well as an important element in the social history of the country in mediæval times. But neither the records of Lincoln's Inn nor of the Inner Temple give us direct information upon the actual origin of two societies which have filled so important and curious a part in the social history of this country. For remarkable these societies beyond question are. They have been, from their very beginning, a kind of university without statutes and without a definite set of rules, and existing under a species of customary organisation. For the orders of the Privy Council—as, for example, those of 1574, which, it is stated, were 'established' with the advice of that body and the justices of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas—appear to be rules drawn up by the Benchers and approved by the Privy Council. The sanction of the Council gave these regulations a force which they would not have otherwise possessed. In other words, they issue from the society which they regulate ; they are not statutes or ordinances introduced by a hostile or a supreme legislature. Thus these Inns were at once academic and professional bodies, singularly unfettered, exercising functions of the first importance in the national economy, yet wholly free from any species of State control. The education of English barristers, the supervision of the

whole body of English advocates, has been the duty of these societies, which in the beginning appear to have been no more than stray aggregations of lawyers and legal students, who have continued from century to century to manage their affairs without any external control.

We are so much accustomed to look at the Inns of Court as well-recognised parts of English society, their peculiar organisation has been so familiar to every generation of Englishmen, that we are apt to overlook both the singularity and the remarkable continuity of their existence, and the noticeable example they afford of the freedom and the individuality of the English people.

Though, as we have said, the records of the Inns of Court do not give any direct statements as to their origin—which, indeed, could not be expected—they make the character of that origin pretty clear. A body of lawyers rented some land and premises on the east side of what is now Chancery Lane from two landlords, the Bishop of Chichester and the Hospital of Burton Lazars of Jerusalem in England. The occupation of the first portion was probably between the years 1245 and 1253, when Richard, Bishop of Chichester, filled this see. For in 1466 a statute of the society begins—

‘In honour of Almighty God, of Jesus Christ our Lord, of S. Mary His mother, and of S. Richard, formerly Bishop of Chichester, late dwelling in this house of Lincoln’s Inn, and the true possessor thereof in right of his church of Chichester.’ (Vol. i. p. 41.)

For this property the society paid

‘a yearly rent of 10 marks, reduced by Bishop Arundel to 8 marks, and raised again to 10 marks on that prelate’s death. . . . On the southern edge of this estate were houses with back doors opening on to gardens which abutted on Ficketsfield; there were other buildings on the property, some houses used as chambers, a hall with a kitchen and butlery, and a chapel. In 1537 Bishop Sampson sold the land held of the see to William and Eustace Sulyard, from whom it descended to Edward Sulyard.’ (P. ii.)

An interesting minute of 1580 shows at once the way in which the estate then became the absolute property of the Inn, as well as the composition of the governing body at that time. A number of lawyers took it into their minds to become tenants of land and buildings for which the ecclesiastical owner had little personal use, and this body of lawyers in later times, without aid or interference from the State, decided to make it their home in perpetuity.

The history of the two Temples is somewhat different. Here we have the Knights Hospitallers, or the Knights of

St. John of Jerusalem, possessed of the Church of St. Mary and of the semi-ecclesiastical buildings which were grouped around it. This half-priestly order of knighthood was, by the middle of the fourteenth century, decaying as a separate body; the lawyers were increasing; and so it came about that in the year 1347 a group of lawyers became the tenants of the Knights Hospitallers, taking possession of most of the secular buildings at a rent of 20 marks a year, and leaving to their landlords the church of the order and its adjoining chapels.

'They also retained in office, as the keeper or guardian of the church, an ecclesiastic known as "The Master of the New Temple," who was, under the Prior of S. John, responsible not only for the maintenance of the fabric and for the decoration of the church, but also for the performance of the services and for the lodging and sustenance of the priests.' *

And so things remained until the dissolution of this famous order in 1540, when the lawyers became the owners of the entire Temple as tenants at will of the Crown. Their title was precarious, and on the accession of James I. there are indications that some of the Scotchmen about the Court would have been glad to turn the lawyers out of their property. The Temples had, however, influence enough to make this danger into an actual benefit, and in 1608 the societies of the two Temples were confirmed by patent in their possessions; 'whereas,' ran part of the recital of this document,

'the Inns of the Inner and Middle Temple, London, being two out of those four colleges the most famous of all Europe, as always abounding with persons devoted to the study of the aforesaid laws and experienced therein, have been, by the free bounty of our progenitors, kings of England, for a long time dedicated to the use of the students and professors of the said laws, to which, as the best seminaries of learning and education, very many young men eminent for rank of family and their endowments of mind and body have daily resorted from all parts of this realm.'

It then proceeds to grant and confirm all the buildings of the Inner and Middle Temple at a yearly rent of 10*l.*, payable by each Inn.

We have stated how, when the Knights Hospitallers granted the semi-ecclesiastical buildings to the lawyers in the fourteenth century, the church was excepted from the grant. This exclusion now came to an end, and all the

* Inner Temple Records, vol. i. p. xx.

buildings 'commonly called the Temple Church' were handed over to the lawyers. The Mastership of the Temple was, however, vested in the Crown, and not in the Benchers of the Temple. The grant was something more than a confirmation of the possession of the temporal buildings, and an addition by gift of the ancient church—it was a recognition of the position of the two Temples as great colleges of the law. In the new order of things which was beginning in England it established them securely, linking their mediæval existence with that modern life which has continued to the present day.

Of the division of the legal society which was located in the Temple into two bodies the books of the Inner Temple tell us nothing. But among the MSS. of that society still preserved there

'is a pamphlet of twenty-six pages folio, closely written, in the nature of a report, giving an account of the origin and growth of the Knights Templars, of their building of the New Temple. . . . According to this statement, the lawyers . . . in the reign of Henry VI. divided themselves into those two societies, the Inner and the Middle Temples.*'

This pamphlet is part of the collection of William Petty, who was Keeper of the Records of the Tower, and in 1701 Treasurer of the Inner Temple. To some extent this account is merely report transferred to writing, but it is substantiated by passages in the 'Paston Letters,' some extracts from which are given by Mr. Inderwick in his introduction. In these letters the first mention of the Inner Temple as a single society is in 1440. Before that date the reference is to the Temple as an undivided body. There can, therefore, be no doubt that some time in the reign of Henry VI. the lawyers who were associated in the Temple divided themselves into two separate bodies, having, however, a common church. Those who occupied the buildings nearest to the City naturally called their portion of the estate the Inner Temple, while those who lived in the other portion, intermediate between the Inner Temple and Westminster, gave it the name of the Middle Temple.

But at the very time when the Temple was entirely losing all signs of its ecclesiastical character, which in some degree had clung to it for so many years, the lawyers were

* *Inner Temple Records*, vol. i. p. xvii.

being troubled still by an ancient privilege. This is not the place to dwell on the well-known right of sanctuary, a right which, it need scarcely be said, attached to the Temple Church and its precincts. Adjoining the Temple was that historic refuge of criminals and thieves, Whitefriars, or, as it was commonly called, Alsatia. The result of this proximity was that the Temple was constantly invaded by ruffians of all sorts. Access to the church and its burying-ground ‘appears to have been surreptitiously effected through houses built on land forming part of ‘the New Temple, which had their front entrance in Fleet ‘Street, with backways into the churchyard.’ Continual attempts were made by the Bench to prevent this and other means of access. Sometimes doors are to be bolted and barred, sometimes ‘strongly mured up with bricks;’ sometimes it is a petition which is under consideration from the fellows of the Temple, complaining of the disturbances ‘caused by ‘a disorderly crew of outlawed persons.’ From these and other details in these records we obtain a lifelike picture of a phase of English society which, however discreditable, cannot be overlooked. By the middle of the seventeenth century the most flagrant disorder in the Temple had been checked, but its precincts for years continued to be the haunt of debtors and disreputable persons, who by no means were always excluded from the Temple itself, and gave to it an atmosphere of Bohemianism little characteristic of its professional and academic purpose.

It is necessary, however, to return to the foundations of the Inns of Court before describing shortly the system which prevailed there.

It is obvious that before a body of lawyers was sufficiently homogeneous to begin a corporate existence, not only as a college of law, but also as a club, if the expression may be used, of professional lawyers, they must have had some kind of social or professional bond of union. This connexion seems to have sprung from what were subsequently called the Inns of Chancery—originally, there can be little doubt, hostels or common lodging-houses for lawyers and law students. The legal caste had grown into existence in England with surprising rapidity, though in mediæval times it was almost entirely confined to London. Being a caste, there would be a tendency in those who belonged to it to live together, and to form some kind of indefinite corporation. The lawyers in the thirteenth century were collected round the king’s courts at Westminster.

'In Edward I.'s day we see that the king has a number of pleaders, who are known as his servants or serjeants at law (*servientes ad legem*). Already in 1275 it is necessary to threaten with imprisonment "the serjeant countor," who is guilty of collusive or deceitful practice. Also, there seem to be about the Court many young men who are learning to plead, and whose title of "apprentices" suggests that they are the pupils of the serjeants. We may infer that already before 1292 these practitioners had acquired an exclusive right to be heard on behalf of others. In that year King Edward directed his justices to provide for every county a sufficient number of attorneys and apprentices from among the best, the most lawful, and the most teachable, so that king and people might be well served.' *

Once we realise a class, however small, of lawyers, however uneducated in legal principles, but with some kind, at any rate, of special knowledge, at the end of the thirteenth century, it becomes easy to perceive that they would live together in houses convenient of access to the king's courts. It is these houses which were the Inns of Chancery, and which appear to have historically a twofold character.

It is probable that in the first instance they were simply common lodging-houses, which gradually lost their private character as their owners died. Thus, in 1344, Isabella, widow of Robert Clifford, demised to the apprentices *de bancy*, or students who frequented the Common Bench, what subsequently became known as Clifford's Inn, and 'the will' of John Thavie, an armourer, who died in 1348, shows 'that he was the owner of a hospice which had been, and 'probably then was, frequented by students of the law.' † Thavie's, or Davy's, Inn was afterwards, like Clifford's Inn, one of those ten Inns of Chancery which became affiliated to the Inns of Court. In each of the above instances there cannot be a doubt of its earlier character, so that the evolution of the Inns of Chancery producing, as one may say, the Inns of Court, and then falling into definite positions as subsidiary but important members of the collegiate legal system of mediæval and later times, is clear. How truncated and diminished, then, in our day is the great legal academic system of an earlier age!

In their second form the Inns of Chancery have become subsidiary and auxiliary to the larger and more important societies, the Inns of Court. Broadly speaking, there is some analogy between the relations of the Inns of Chancery

* Pollock and Maitland's 'History of English Law,' vol. i. p. 194.

† Inner Temple Records, vol. i. p. xii.

and the Inns of Court in the sixteenth century and the great public schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the nineteenth, though there was between the two legal bodies a closer union than between the schools and the universities, a union which grew stronger after the purchase of Thavie's Inn in 1551 and Furnival's Inn in 1548 by the greater society of Lincoln's Inn. In 1565 there is to be found in the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn the following entry in connexion with a meeting of the Benchers of the Society :—

' None shall be admitted into this house hereafter unless he have been of some house of Chancery before, under five marks fine.

' None of Chancery shall be admitted under forty shillings, at his admission to be paid, unless he be an utter Barrister in Chancery and have kept two vacations as utter Barrister there.' (Vol. i. p. 315.)

It was, therefore, the policy of the Inns of Court to oblige all those who desired admission to one of the legal colleges to have first been a member of the smaller society. In other words, we see, imperfectly no doubt, but clearly enough, a system of graduated legal education. Such a relationship depends on various details which in the lapse of time are necessarily lost; they cannot be restored, as can the parts of a great mediæval building, and so we must be content now to view them more or less in outline. But there was a yet more important connexion between the Inns of Court and of Chancery. The readers both of Thavie's and Furnival's Inns were members of Lincoln's Inn. Of this official in the Inns of Court we shall have something to say presently. For the moment we are concerned not with the readers of the Inns of Court, but with those of the Inns of Chancery, more especially as connecting the smaller and the larger societies. The reader was the official channel of communication between the society and the Houses. ' Every reader of Court is to give order to their Houses of Chancery that the orders for apparells and weapons and study be observed by their companies.' The reader was the teacher, the lecturer of those who belonged to the Houses of Chancery, and the responsibility for his efficiency and for the performance of his duties lay with the legal university. Thus, if a member of an Inn of Chancery applied for admission to an Inn of Court, the latter body received a person already educated to some extent in legal principles. There was obviously, therefore, a definite system, a lower and a higher form of legal membership. In 1574 there were approved and recognised by the Privy Council ten orders for the

government of the Inns of Court. The ninth order runs thus: ‘The reformation and order for the Inns of Chancery is referred to the Benchers of the Houses of Court whereto they are belonging: wherein they are to use the advice and assistance of the Justices of the Courts at Westminster.’ Up to this date the relations between these different bodies may be regarded as customary only; from the moment of these orders they are almost statutory. The order recognises existing practices and sanctions them for the future. At this epoch the Inns of Court, with their affiliated and subsidiary Inns of Chancery, are at the most important point in their history, at once legal colleges and societies for the governance and the enjoyment of the advocates of England.

It is now time to turn to a survey of the character of these great institutions.

We have to picture to ourselves what must, in the language of to-day, be called a college. At either of the great English universities we see grouped under various titles a society of students and teachers, with their hall, their chapel, their library, and their living-rooms, with their rules for education, and their social meetings. Exactly the same was to be seen at Lincoln’s Inn and the Temple in the Middle Ages, everything grouping round the hall, which was the centre of the society. It was ‘the only fire to which the majority of students had access.’ It is easy to picture the social gatherings in the hall, not always peaceful. ‘Kenelm Digas,’ we read in an entry of 1465,

‘was put out of the society because, on the Sunday before Christmas Day, he violently drew his dagger, in the hall of the said Inn, upon Denys, one of the fellows of the Inn. Afterwards, on the 1st of March, at the instance of several fellows, Digas was readmitted on condition that he should not carry a dagger within the Inn, or the precincts thereof, for one whole year, because he had offended with his dagger in form aforesaid, and, further, that he paid a fine of 40s. for the offence.*

Later we read of two students who were put out of commons for an affray between them in the hall. Indeed, it seems to have been a favourite place for a brawl, and the use of the dagger was frequent. Chalynor, on March 11, 1526, ‘was amerced 10s. for assaulting Stafferton junior with his dagger, and wounding him in the arm.’ Details

* Black Books, vol. i. p. 40.

such as these in themselves are trivial, but they are both interesting and important when we recollect how they indicate the character of the place and the nature of the gatherings in it. The entries, with numerous others, are important, too, as showing the discipline which existed in the society, a discipline in no sense concerned with legal matters, but characteristic of an academic society. The morality and the conduct—even the dress and the hair—of the members of the Inn was the constant care of the Bench; they were concerned not merely with the ordinary behaviour of those who assembled in the Inn, but with their habits when they were engaged in the ordinary social life of the place.

'Purification of Blessed Virgin, 1495. Francis Southwell, 'John Pole, and Henry Smyth were put out of commons for 'playing at dice at night within the Inn, in the chamber 'of the said Henry, contrary to the statutes and ordinances 'of the Inn. Fined 10*s.* each.* To-day a room in Lincoln's Inn is usually a lawyer's office; in the Middle Ages these rooms were almost identical with the rooms of undergraduates at a university. 'For the most part they were long rooms, inside of which a cell or cells were constructed by panelling. These cells, called studies, were the subject of frequent orders by the Bench. The floor-space outside the studies was probably shared in common by the inhabitants of each chamber, and partly occupied by bedding. The Bench lay down that in chambers the junior is to give place to the senior, and on one occasion adjust a dispute about the title to some bedding in the chamber. Each house or chambers was distinguished by a name, such as Le Horsemill, Le Dovehouse, or by references to the occupants or sites of other chambers.' They had, in fact, something of a particular and corporate existence, which made the club-like, social character of the societies more noticeable. They were bodies to which men belonged not merely for legal purposes, but because they were a society at once legal and social. 'Robert Abbot, of Missenden, in the county of Buckingham, was admitted and pardoned his vacations, and was allowed to be at repasts: for these liberties he granted to the society a hogshead of red wine yearly at Christmas as long as he lived.' Such is an entry in the records of Lincoln's Inn in 1470. These honorary fellows, to whom there is constant reference in the records, no doubt strengthened the society and gave it a greater im-

* Black Books, vol. i. p. 103.

portance, but they were not active members of the legal college. The true 'Socii,' or fellows, were lawyers.

'At the head of the fellowship stood the masters of the Bench, with an executive of governors and officers. . . . Next to the Bench came the utter barristers, those who had been called by the Bench to the Bar of the society; and last of all the clerks, whose position corresponds to some extent with that of the law student of the present day.' *

The position of a bencher was an honourable one; but it was by no means always desired, and from time to time entries are found of members being expelled or fined for not taking the Bench. The benchers of Lincoln's Inn seem to have met until 1524 in the chapel of S. Richard, the chapel of the society, where there is mention of a council chamber. From the benchers were elected the gubernatores, or rectores—the governors, usually four in number, who remained in office for a year. They were the executive of the fellowship; but after 1575 their functions appear to have been exercised by the whole body of benchers, and the term ceases to appear in the records. Next to the benchers came the barristers—a term which has now grown beyond its original meaning. The barrister for many years was not as such necessarily entitled to an audience in the king's court. In the orders of 1574 it is enacted that none shall be admitted to plead in the courts at Westminster, or to draw any pleadings, unless he shall be a reader or bencher of an Inn of Court, or five years 'utter barrister,' and have continued for that time in exercise of learning, or a reader in Chancery two years at the least. Thus it is clear that the 'utter barrister' was no more than a person of legal education who had attained to a certain standing in an Inn of Court. It was a legal degree: the barrister had ceased, if one may so say, to be a legal undergraduate, and he had reached a standard of learning which rendered him eligible to be allowed to plead before the king's judges. Doubtless before 1574 there had been caprice and uncertainty in regard to the selection of those who might exercise the profession of advocates. In that year an end is made to this uncertainty, and those members of the legal colleges who have attained to a certain seniority in the society become thereupon qualified advocates.† The distinction between the state of things

* Black Books, vol. i. p. v.

† In the Judges' Orders, 1614, No. 6 runs thus:—'For that the over-early and hasty practice of utter barristers doth make them less

in the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries is important, for the systematised education of the earlier age becomes more apparent when we understand that an ‘utter barrister’ was one who had attained an academic degree only. Lowest in order of the members of the fellowship came the clerks—those who had not attained the legal degree of utter barrister, in fact those who were pursuing a pre-graduate course of study, as those who were barristers for a time, at any rate, were occupied with post-graduate studies.

It may cause some surprise that those who had taken a degree should continue a study of the law. It must be remembered, however, that in the Middle Ages, the body we are considering did not consist only of professional lawyers. Legal studies occupied a larger place than is now the case in ordinary education. Moreover, there are distinct traces of something in the nature of a general elementary education being given. ‘Parker,’ so we read in 1506, ‘fined 12d. for ‘throwing wyspis in Hall during the drinking time in an ‘insolent way in the Grammar School.’ The innumerable mention of boyish offences; the resolutions of the Bench as to dress, as in this very year, when the Bench ordered that every clerk should ‘be decorously clad, and not with his ‘shirt in public view beyond his doublet at his neck’—all point to students being little more than boys; which indicates again that we must take no narrow view of the functions of the Inns of Court and Chancery up, at any rate, to the end of the sixteenth century. We must regard them as filling a great and important place in the general educational machinery of England. The latter word must be used advisedly. Irishmen were prohibited from becoming fellows of the society. In 1437 it was ordered ‘that no person ‘born in Ireland should in future be admitted as a Fellow ‘of the Society of Lyncollsyn; and if any one born there ‘shall hereafter be admitted by any person or persons, he ‘shall be expelled.’

In later years, when the rigour of this order was relaxed, and Irishmen, however few in numbers, became members of the society, they were regarded as a class who should not be allowed to mix with Englishmen. They were ordered,

grounded and sufficient, whereby the law may be disgraced and the client prejudiced: therefore it is ordered that for the time to come no utter barrister begin to practice publicly at any Bar at Westminster until he hath been three years at the Bar; except such utter barristers that have been readers in some houses of Chancery.’

in 1556, to live in the chambers called the Dovehouse, the special character of which at a later period is referred to when it was rebuilt: ‘to build from the ground the Irishmen’s chamber called the Dovecot.’ It is in such entries as this that we see more vividly than by any amount of description the feeling of the age, and can realise the conditions of an epoch. It is easier also, when we bear in mind the youth of many of the members of the Inns of Court, to understand the place which minstrelsy and revels held in their life.

But it is with the educational system of the Inns of Court that we are now concerned. It reached its perfection in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the following century it was carried out with a difficulty which had not before been experienced, and after the breaking out of the Civil War it began to assume that partial and indeterminate character which it has borne in modern times. The reason is obvious. A system suitable for a mediæval society, one evolved out of the needs and the characteristics of a particular age, has been continued into years for which its peculiar character is not suited. In the fifteenth century the system of legal education could not be improved.

For educational purposes the year was divided into terms, learning vacations, and mesne vacations. A large number of the entries in the records of the Inns of Court are concerned with the keeping of the vacations by the members, either as learners or teachers. Indeed, ‘the pardoning of ‘vacations’ is so frequently mentioned that it would seem to indicate that there was a much larger number of fellows who made but a partial study of the law than the actual entries would suggest. The pardoning of vacations was also a convenient method of supporting the society, whether by money or kind. ‘Christopher Hanyngton, one of the Clerks ‘of the Chancery, was admitted to the society in 1482, and ‘pardoned all vacations and admitted to repasts, for which ‘he shall pay a hogshead of wine or 20s. as he pleases.’* It is well known that the instruction given at the Inns of Court was chiefly oral; it could not be otherwise until reading and writing became common and easy, and textbooks and reports became numerous. The form which this instruction took was threefold. It was either by readings, by moots, or by bolts. The reading was in the nature of a lecture, probably for the younger students. The moot was

* Black Books, vol. i. p. 78.

the argument of a case, the chief form of technical legal instruction. Two members of the Inner Bar had to write upon a case which was chosen and assigned to them. By them it was taken to some of the Utter Bar :—

'The case was to be cast into the form of pleadings, and after the argument at the Bar, in which the utter barristers were expected to join, the puisne of the Bench recited the whole pleading, according to the ancient custom. Then the Bench advanced such arguments as pleased them. If any of the Bench advanced more than two points, the reader was to show him that he "breaketh the common order."'

As years went on the mootings became more elaborate, and were a real preparation for the business of legal advocacy. As has been already pointed out, a barrister was no more than a person who had taken a legal degree and who continued post-graduate studies. It is obvious that with moots an important part of a system of legal education the advocate, whether of mediaeval or more recent times, came to his duties in court far better prepared than does the barrister in the nineteenth century, who has to learn experience at the expense of his clients. In former days the advocate who stood up to argue a case in court for the first time was undertaking a task with which he was perfectly familiar, and for which he had been definitely trained. The very judges whom he addressed were not unfamiliar to him.* The practice at the Inns of Court stood him equally in good stead in the House of Commons as in the law courts. The value of it was held in the highest estimation by those responsible for the management of the Inns of Court, for, in addition to moots, there was the similar but simpler exercise—the bolt. In 1656 there is an order of the Bench of Lincoln's Inn which gives a picture of this exercise :—

'Ordered that the bolts hereafter to be performed be done by the utter barristers and gentlemen under the Bar in the same place as the vacation moots are usually performed; and that the Put-case standing between the two gentlemen under the Bar that are to argue, put his case, and after they are repeated by the ancient barrister that is then to argue, the Put-case is to sit down between the two gentlemen during the argument, and the Panierman is to place forms both for them that are under the Bar, and for the rest of the gentlemen that attend there.' †

* February 11, 1630: 'It is declared to be the ancient custom of this house that the reader for the time being ought to argue his own case, after that the judges who shall happen to be there present have argued.'—Black Books, vol. ii. p. 292.

† Black Books, vol. ii. p. 412.

The bolt appears, in fact, to have been a discussion, less formal and more elementary, among the less important members of the society, but equally intended with the moots to quicken the understanding and to give ease and proficiency in the verbal expression of legal arguments. When the value of these exercises ceased to be appreciated by the members of the Inns their practical usefulness for the purposes of legal education began to fail. A minute of 1659 states that 'the holding up of the commons in vacation, intended by the Bench for reviving exercises in the vacation, which have been nevertheless neglected, is a charge, beside the fruitlessness thereof, too great for the revenue of the House.' Thus, as the seventeenth century nears its end the decadence of the Inns of Court as great legal universities, as educational institutions of the highest value, can no longer be overlooked. They have existed, have fulfilled in modern times some necessary purposes, but their educational decay has been simultaneous with a decrease of systematic legal education in England.

Into the social life of the Inns of Court the entries in these records give considerable insight. Music from the very earliest times formed the main amusement of those who belonged to the societies. Growing out of it came the revels, more elaborate and expensive than simple singing or playing. They, in their turn, led to dramatic performances in a later age. The importance attached to music, the sums, considerable in amount, spent upon it,* show the social importance of the Inns of Court. In an age when it was difficult to obtain amusement of a refined kind, the possibility of such enjoyment at Lincoln's Inn and the Temple indicates not only one reason of their popularity, but the place they at one time held in the social life of the age.

The Inns of Court, however, must not be regarded solely as schools of law, apart from their influence on English society. It is not easy to overestimate their service in the past to English civil and religious liberty. From their very

* 'Accounts of Ralph Scroope, Esquire, Treasurer, 6 & 7 Elizabeth, 1564-5. . . . Allowances 38*l.* 18*s.* Including 5*s.* 4*d.* to William Perryn and Richard Knight, minstrels [musicis], for their salaries at the Purification, 30*s.* to William Leade, paid to Robert Jugler, deceased, late harper [lyrator] of the Inn, 38*s.* 2*d.* for a supper for the boys of Mr. Edwards, of the Queen's Chapel, and for the staff torches and clubs and other necessaries for the play at the Purification last.'

beginning they were purely secular societies. An abbot or a prior was from time to time admitted to them, but he joined them not as the superior, but as the equal of the laymen by whom they were formed and carried on; not to alter their character, but in order to be a member of a fellowship which was at once learned and social. They represented the influence of lay thought on English mediæval education, an influence not ephemeral, but lasting from century to century. The earliest colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were founded for the instruction of the clergy; in the famous universities of Italy—Bologna, Reggio, Modena—the civil and canon law formed the basis of the teaching. Nowhere but at the Inns of Court* could the Englishman study the common law, and as a member of a society free from any kind of papal, episcopal, or regal control. Nowhere but at the Temple or Lincoln's Inn could there be obtained an education, secular in its character, in its influence equally hostile to ultramontane and to regal pretensions. The unique position of the Inns of Court in this respect has hitherto been overlooked, because their great position as a university has been insufficiently realised.

Moreover, their self-government, the association of men of various ages and stations in the pursuit of a common study conducive to the enlargement of intelligence, to accuracy of thought, and to the understanding of individual rights, made for freedom. It was at the Temple and Lincoln's Inn that the common law of England, so vital to the growth of the nation, was treasured and studied, and handed down from one generation of lawyers to another, until, like the civil law and the canons, it grew into a distinct body of jurisprudence. Thus the Inns of Court formed a distinct and effective element in the developement of the English people.

But the question naturally may be asked, Can the Inns of Court ever fulfil a larger part in the future than they do in the present? No one can be satisfied with the present state of legal education; its systematic study is in this country neglected at a time when the appreciation of legal principles is more necessary than ever. For in the midst of an overwhelming mass of case and statute law legal principles are the only safe guide. Solicitors are subject to

* Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was founded in 1350 as a school of civil and canon law, 'probably designed to further ultramontane interests.'

examination, but the teaching they receive has to be found by themselves. Quite to the end of the seventeenth century attorneys were members of the Inns of Court. They were suffered as members mainly for the purposes of legal education. In the orders of 1574, which have already been referred to, we read that 'if any hereafter admitted in 'Court practice as attorney or solicitor, they to be dismissed 'and expulsed' out of their houses thereupon, except the 'persons that be solicitors shall also use the exercising of 'learning and mooting in the House, and so be allowed by 'the Bench.' As the difference in the nature of the work done by barristers and attorneys became more marked the exclusiveness of the Inns of Court became greater. In 1635 there was an order that no attorney or common solicitor be admitted, yet in spite of it attorneys were certainly members of the society at a still later period. This modern exclusiveness should be altered. The Inns of Court might resume their functions as great legal colleges. They should not limit the legal education which they give to students who intend to practise as barristers. There should, too, be a closer relation between the Inns of Court and the universities. The study of law at Oxford or Cambridge in most instances takes the place of studies which should precede it. There is a tendency to use the law schools of the universities for the purposes of professional rather than of general education. The educational system of the Inns of Court should form either a post-graduate course of legal study for those who have already graduated in more general studies at the universities, or be followed simultaneously with an ordinary university career. This is no more impossible than is the practice of preparing for the Civil Service examinations during the university vacations. Some kind of relationship between the Inns of Court and the universities must, however, be established before the former can be brought into their right position as educational factors. At present nothing is more remarkable than the complete separation and want of sympathy, educationally considered, between the universities and the Inns of Court. Some kind of touch between the two bodies might be created were, as would be quite possible, the professors and teachers of law at the universities to be members of the governing bodies of the Inns of Court. At the present moment, when the Inns of Court attempt to deal with legal education, the names, with one exception, of the legal teachers of the universities—men much more

eminent than some of the practitioners who by age or forensic success become members of the Bench—are conspicuously absent. It is impossible that legal education can be satisfactorily dealt with by men who are without experience in legal education. It may be doubted whether a successful professional man can ever be alone a desirable manager of what should be a college or university. The tendency of his mind is alien to academic thought; in the stress of mature work he necessarily loses touch of elementary teaching. On the other hand, the professional and the academic elements, properly united, make a better managing body than either alone. If this be so, it is obvious that the educational authority of the Inns of Court—the Council of Legal Education—should have upon it some of those who at the universities have passed their lives in legal teaching and in the consideration of methods of study. In an age of great intellectual activity, when legal principles are entering every day into social and business relations, it is absurd to suppose that, if the teaching of law by the Inns of Court were placed on a broader and more scientific basis, and made more adequate both in regard to legal principles and professional practice, it would not eagerly be taken advantage of. A great school of law in the capital of the British Empire could hardly fail to attract students from all parts of the world. The increasing facility of intercourse between the colonies and England would seem to be in itself a reason why the Inns of Court should endeavour to fill the large place which they held in past times. The social life of the Inns of Court has died out; yet in this respect it can scarcely be doubted that there are opportunities of usefulness open which the traditions of these great societies still render possible.

At present the Inns of Court, though they have in recent years shown some signs of a recognition of the possibilities of their position, are far from having regained the place which the records recently published so vividly recall to us. To the law school of Bologna students in the Middle Ages came from all parts of Europe, drawn thither by the excellence of the teaching. Is there any reason why in the immediate future societies with so noble an historic past as the Inns of Court should not become the central law-school of England and her colonies? The imperial idea is not necessarily one of expanding boundaries; its surest development lies in the strengthening of the connexion of England and her colonies.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Memorials.* Part I. Family and Personal, 1766–1865. By ROUNDELL PALMER, Earl of Selborne. 2 vols. London: 1896.
2. *Memorials.* Part II. Personal and Political, 1865–1895. By ROUNDELL PALMER, Earl of Selborne, Lord High Chancellor. 2 vols. London: 1898.

THE biographies of those great men who have widely influenced their time or their countrymen must of necessity attract the whole reading world. The mere fame of the man makes the public desire to know exactly what he was, exactly what he did, and whence and how his influence arose. If he has been a statesman of the first rank his life has been passed in controversy. He has been judged by partisans and by foes, largely from their own standpoint of affection, or interest, or prejudice; and it is not till he has left the stage of politics that a public atmosphere exists in which his character or his work can be fairly weighed. Moreover people read the lives of eminent statesmen and soldiers and sailors on account of the interest they take in the facts of history, as well as in the characters of their public men.

Many readers, again, who care little for lives of incident or action revel in the biographies and letters of distinguished literary men. A Walter Scott or a Tennyson makes himself, in truth, by force of his own genius, the intimate friend of countless thousands, who as a matter of course take the deepest interest in everything that can be told about the man who has been and who is so much to them. To people of a literary turn nothing is more attractive than a book about books. The comments and the discussions upon their favourite authors enable them, in imagination, almost to form part of the society of which they read. Books have been their chief companions through life; what is thought about them, what is said about them by those best able to form an opinion—that is the literature they prefer.

Again, in the present day there are ‘quiet lives’ whose ‘memorials’ greatly interest a very large circle of readers—people who often take but little interest in the facts of history—biographies of men and women where there has been no fame, no public life, no connexion either with great events or distinguished men, no stirring incidents to attract attention, but where the whole interest of the book turns

upon self-reflexion, the inward workings and searchings, the private thoughts and aspirations of a human spirit.

'Many and divers evidently are the reasons with which men write the lives of themselves and others, and for which other men turn to read them. We live in an age of biography, and many admirable 'lives' have been written in recent years, but it must be admitted that it is time some discrimination were exercised as to what it is desirable or even worth while to publish. Upon an already flooded market there is annually poured an ever-increasing stream of books recording the uneventful lives of men and women—often of very commonplace men and women—books which have in truth little story to tell and no lesson to teach, where no interesting character is made known to us, and where, moreover, there is frequently, on the part of author or editor, no literary faculty to compensate, in the eyes of readers, for the dearth or dulness of the materials.

A man, respected and popular in his lifetime, dies. He is missed and mourned by a large circle of relatives and friends, who naturally and rightly wish that some record should remain of what he was to them. Yet the reasons which amply justify the privately printed memoir are often quite insufficient to justify the publication of a life.

So with family histories and memorials. Many of the old country houses of England are veritable storehouses of old letters, and old letters packed away in chests and cupboards may almost as well not exist at all, since what is unprinted remains practically unread. Doubtless much more should be done than is done in privately printing family letters and records which, in the case of any large family, will often bear upon matters of public interest. Statesmen, diplomats, lawyers, soldiers, sailors write, of course, largely on the business of their daily lives, and hence family records, in a greater or less degree, possess partly a private and personal interest, partly an interest of a more general kind linking the family with the course of public and national affairs. We have protested against the too frequent publication of biographies; but assuredly no one could allege, in regard to the work named at the head of our article, that it was not well to publish it. Much of it is of the highest importance in its bearing upon contemporary politics. Its large bulk, which may unfortunately frighten away some readers, is due to the fact that in one work private family memorials are combined with an account of the political and other actions of a very eminent public man.

Lord Selborne's four volumes of 'Memorials' contain much that is deeply interesting, both of a personal and a public kind. They are divided into two parts; the first, described as 'Family and Personal,' stretching over the hundred years from 1766 to 1865, the last, as 'Personal' and 'Political,' dealing with the subsequent period of thirty years. With quaint but characteristic modesty Lord Selborne, in his dedicatory preface to Part II., apologises for the greater amount of space therein given 'to his own opinions on public questions, and to the part which he took in them, whilst less is given to family matters than he could have wished.' He is addressing his children, and not the public, and this evident intention and object of the author all through his four volumes must be borne in mind when we consider the book as a whole and the correspondence which he places before us. Many of the admirable and beautiful letters to be found in these volumes were written in the privacy of extreme confidence existing between the nearest of relations or the most intimate of friends. They testify in a high degree to the truly noble and religious spirit which animated the family of which Lord Selborne was a member. It was his desire to communicate to his children and their descendants a knowledge of the previous generation, especially to make known to them his own father, for whom he felt unbounded reverence and affection. We, however, propose to turn our attention to the public career of Lord Selborne himself—in fact, to that very part of the book for which he apologises, viz. his opinions and the part that he played in public life.

This book is not, and does not profess to be, a complete autobiography. Its value largely consists in the comments on many of the important political and religious controversies of our time, and in the carefully drawn portraits of many of the eminent public men with whom Lord Selborne was brought into contact. No one interested in the politico-religious questions which have from time to time so greatly stirred public feeling during the Queen's reign will fail carefully to study all that Lord Selborne has to say about them. And there surely can be few intelligent men of any political party who do not recognise the truth and power of the masterly sketch he has given us of Mr. Gladstone.

Roundell Palmer left Winchester, where Lowe and Cardwell had been his schoolfellows and his friends, the head of the school, and was a freshman at Oxford when Gladstone was in his third year as President of the Union. It was

natural that the son of a Tory High Churchman should, while at Oxford, in the year 1830 have accepted Conservatism as a matter of course, and his friendship for Lowe and Cardwell, who were Liberals, did not prevent him from supporting Gladstone's famous anti-reform motion at the Union in May 1831. After a distinguished career at Oxford Palmer won a Fellowship at Magdalen, and turned his thoughts seriously to the Bar. Of his early struggles in his profession, of his forensic triumphs, of the steady upward march of his fee book we are told too little. He was called to the Bar in the last fortnight of the reign of William IV., and he owed his first opportunity of winning distinction to a case in which he was briefed by Messrs. Freshfield, solicitors to the Bank of England, with which institution Palmer had some family connexion. Business came to him rapidly, and, needless to say, he was from the beginning amply qualified to do it so as to win the grateful appreciation of his clients and the praises of the judges before whom he practised. In the year 1839 Palmer writes to his father that he had 'passed the Rubicon of 100*l.*', his fees that year amounting to 165*l.*, and five years later we find him engaging a junior clerk, and generously giving up the whole profits of his Magdalen fellowship to endow the college chapel, which had lately been restored, with suitable windows of coloured glass. In 1840, when his professional business was not sufficient to employ his whole time, Palmer began to write leading articles regularly for the '*Times*,' then under the editorship of Barnes, soon to be succeeded by Delane; but his increasing business, and the fact of there being, in 1843, some divergence of views between himself and the conductors of that journal as to the 'endeavours of 'Bishops Blomfield and Phillpotts to make the usages of the 'Church more conformable to the rubrics,' put an end to the connexion with that paper, to the great relief of his father, who dreaded any dabbling on the part of his son with non-professional pursuits, and who had, moreover, a hearty old-fashioned dislike to anonymous journalism.

In 1846 he was 'refused silk' by Lord Lyndhurst, a refusal which in after life he considered not unreasonable, and by no means really opposed to his own interest. Three years later, being then member for Plymouth, he is made a Queen's Counsel by Lord Cottenham. It was not till fourteen years after he first entered the House of Commons that he became Solicitor-General, and in 1864 Attorney-General, in the last Government of Lord Palmerston. After

the defeat of Lord Russell's Reform Bill, in 1866, Roundell Palmer was not again in office till he joined Mr. Gladstone's first Cabinet as Lord Chancellor. That Ministry had done great things; but it was already nearing its end. Lord Selborne took his seat on the Woolsack in February 1873. It was the last session of that Parliament, for in the January following Mr. Gladstone suddenly dissolved it, and the Conservatives came back from the country with a large majority. Lord Selborne was again Lord Chancellor, and for the last time, in Mr. Gladstone's second Cabinet (1880-85).

Considering, then, that Palmer entered Parliament in 1847, that he was long the acknowledged leader of the Bar on the Chancery side, and that he retained the full possession of all his activities, and his place in the front rank among statesmen, till his death in the spring of 1895, his career in office was of no long duration. He was law officer of the Crown under one Government only, and for the space of not more than three years. The two periods during which he held the seals amounted together to six years. Had he made office his first object, for which line of action he would, in the 'Lives of the Chancellors,' have found ample precedent among the most famous of his predecessors, a very different record would have been achieved.

Roundell Palmer from the beginning took his politics, as, indeed, he took everything else, very seriously. Political life was not to him a 'party game' where honours and emoluments were the stakes, and where responsibility for the welfare of the country rested upon the party leaders only. He knew his own rectitude of purpose, he felt his own personal power, and throughout his long life he acted nobly up to his determination to use his whole energies to uphold what he in his own conscience believed to be the cause of right and justice and the true interest of his countrymen. It is a matter of no little importance that the life of such a statesman should have been published at a time when much shallow cynicism makes itself heard in the discussion of the motives and action of our public men. Mr. Parnell's whole tactics, adopted by four-fifths of the representatives of the Irish people, were founded on the theory that English statesmen were perfectly ready to eat their own words and sacrifice their own convictions to obtain the support in office of some eighty Irish votes. It was a question between 'Ins' and 'Outs' —that was all! And there are Englishmen who, we are

afraid, believe that the whole of political life consists in the mere ' bidding ' for the votes of an ignorant electorate. In this work we read of the earnestness and almost painful care with which Lord Selborne conscientiously studied the merits of every political problem that came before him, and we realise how completely he dismissed from his mind every consideration of personal advantage.

Palmer's readiness to enter the House of Commons was partly due to the influence of his lifelong friend Cardwell, who had early made his mark in Parliament, and who in 1847 was a member of the Peelite group, a band of dissentients from the Protectionist majority of the Conservative party, few in number, but distinguished for character and ability, and naturally cordially detested by the more orthodox and more bitter of the rank and file who followed the lead of Lord Derby, Lord George Bentinck, and Mr. Disraeli. Certainly Palmer's upbringing and associations before entering upon political life did not seem to make it probable that he would ever heartily co-operate with a Liberal and Radical party. His address at the General Election of 1847 invited the support of the Conservative electors of Plymouth, a strongly Liberal borough, against the candidature of Lord Ebrington and of a Radical follower of Lord John Russell. He declared himself a Free Trader, a supporter of the Established Church, and at the same time in favour of the extension of perfect equality of civil rights and religious liberty to all his fellow countrymen. Lord Ebrington headed the poll, and Palmer obtained a substantial majority over his other opponent.

Circumstances, however, were not such as to make Palmer's path in political life a very easy one. His case was very unlike that of the ordinary ambitious barrister in large practice, who is brought in for a safe party seat to the prospective mutual advantage both of party and member. He was a Conservative who differed on a great question of principle from the recognised leaders of the Conservative party; and he, a pronounced High Churchman, found himself member for a constituency of which a strong feeling for Protestantism was a marked characteristic. Palmer had been deeply interested in the religious controversies which, since he had taken his degree, had rent Oxford in twain. Among his most intimate friends were several who ultimately accepted the logical conclusion of their own reasoning and followed Newman to Rome. He was himself described as a 'Puseyite,' and in one case

at least it was reported (of course without a vestige of truth) that the conversion of one of his friends to Rome was due to his own evil influence. That those who went had hopes that Palmer would come too was not altogether unnatural, and Frederick Faber did, in fact, his best to induce him to follow their example. ‘I never reached,’ writes Lord Selborne, ‘the threshold that they had crossed,’ and certainly his many letters bearing on religious controversy, while showing much sympathy with the ‘Oxford Movement,’ clear him of any suspicion of readiness at any time to make his submission to Rome. Still, remaining connected with his University through his Magdalen fellowship, Palmer had taken an active part in many of the Oxford controversies of the day, and always on the side of the High Churchmen where matters ecclesiastical were involved, so that it is hardly strange he should have been suspected of being far more extreme than he really was. It was to Gladstone in those early days that Palmer looked as the true leader of Oxford opinion in matters both lay and ecclesiastical—so much so that his greater intimacy and friendship with Cardwell did not prevent him throwing all his weight on to the side of the former as candidate for the University, though the latter had the support of Sir Robert Peel.

Born and bred a High Churchman and a Tory of the old school, Palmer’s University career had associated him with the leaders of the new Oxford Movement, which was tending so strongly towards Rome. The opinions of his brother William (who after much wandering and doubt at last found moral and intellectual repose in the bosom of the Roman Church) in early days weighed very strongly with young Roundell Palmer, whose inclination it always was to follow if he could the guidance of those whom he most respected. His reverence for his father’s authority and opinions was almost unbounded. Yet after all there was in the very foundation of Palmer’s character, though it did not always come to the surface, a strong feeling in the sacred right of private judgement, a kind of ‘Protestantism,’ as he somewhere calls it, which ultimately made him refer everything to the decision of his own scrupulous conscience and admirable intellect. It was well for such a man, though he did not think so himself, to represent at the opening of his career a place like Plymouth, with all its drawbacks, where his ears were necessarily open to other strains than those sung by the high priests of a narrow mediævalism at Oxford.

In his address, as we have seen, Palmer had declared in favour of the equality of civil rights among citizens of every class and creed. Yet he would not pledge himself during his canvass to vote for the admission of Jews to the House of Commons, which at Plymouth would apparently have been a popular thing to do. His father was opposed to any change in the law, so was his friend and adviser, Dr. Moberly (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), and Palmer promised the electors to take the matter into his consideration. Before he had been a year in Parliament the question came up for decision, and we rejoice to know that he manfully rejected the bad advice of his parental and other counsellors, and spoke and voted for what he needed only his own conscience and brains to tell him was just and right. ‘To go ‘against my father’s opinion in such a matter as this (shared, ‘as I knew it to be, by most good Churchmen)—to do so at ‘the very outset of my Parliamentary life, and to the certain ‘disappointment of many kind friends and well-wishers—was ‘a serious trial. But I was not convinced . . .’ Here first we catch a glimpse of the coming time in which Palmer was to associate himself frankly with the party of wise and prudent progress, to support the Whig Reform Bill of 1866, the Radical Reform Bill of 1885, and to win the fame of being the greatest and most thorough law reformer of the century.

These, however, were still distant days, and for the most part when matters political touched matters religious Palmer long showed himself very far from Liberal. Thus he followed Gladstone’s example in warmly combating the admission of Dissenters to the English Universities, little foreseeing the time, a generation later, when he would successfully vindicate the right of an atheist to take his seat in the House of Commons. Still a good deal of the old Adam clung to Lord Selborne even in his regenerate days, for he assures us in these volumes that he has never regretted his action in 1850, and that though all his apprehensions as to the admission of Dissenters to University degrees have not yet been realised ‘some of them certainly have, and no man ‘can say with confidence what may be still to come’!

It was unlucky for Roundell Palmer that on the very questions upon which it was impossible for him to see eye to eye with his constituents so much public trouble should have arisen. With the result of the judgement in the Gorham case, though he did not like the judgement itself, Palmer was not much dissatisfied, tending as it did towards ‘comprehension.’ The discussions to which the case led

had stirred the embers of religious strife, and while they were still glowing came the so-called ‘Papal Aggression’ and the famous ‘Durham Letter’ of Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, which fanned them into a fierce flame. Plymouth became nervous as to the Protestantism of its representative, and Palmer thought it right to explain his views very fully in public letters to a leading constituent. His tone was manly and explicit. He warmly repudiated the epithet ‘Puseyite’ or ‘Tractarian’ if these terms meant ‘any inclination, avowed or secret, to Romish doctrines or practices; any disaffection to the principle of the Reformation; any superstitious love of forms and ceremonies; any disposition to exalt Church authority above the Bible; any substitution of human merit, or of the virtue of a sacerdotal system, for reliance on the free grace of God in Jesus Christ as the only means of salvation. . . .’ And he repudiated these terms with equal warmth if they imputed any wish to exclude Evangelicalism from the Church. He was, he went on, earnestly devoted to the Church of England, and he stood by the doctrines, liturgies, and rules laid down in her Prayer Book. He held that the mission of the Church of England, like that of every other true Church, was derived from heaven, not from kings and parliaments, and he repudiated the doctrines of absolute prerogative no less in affairs spiritual than in affairs temporal.

In an admirable letter to the Bishop of London, Palmer states his reasons for deprecating any legislation of the kind contemplated against the Roman Catholics. The language of Cardinal Wiseman and the Pope had been ‘pompous and arrogant;’ but how, he asks, if we are to tolerate the Roman Catholic religion at all, can we avoid tolerating its principal tenet, viz. the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope? It was contrary to the spirit of toleration and to ‘the principles of civil and religious liberty to enter upon a legislative crusade against the mere phraseology by which a particular voluntary church naturally, according to its own religious ideas, designates its own episcopacy.’ In short, in Palmer’s eyes the Roman Catholics constituted (as he afterwards expressed it in his election address) ‘a numerous and important body of tolerated Dissenters.’ Assuredly he had proved conclusively that the policy of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was illiberal, unwise, and inexpedient; but he saw that, as regards the public, one thought alone dominated the minds of men. It was a fight between Protestantism and Popery; and it requires little knowledge of Englishmen

to be aware of what is the inevitable result when once political controversy takes this complexion.

The non-election of Roundell Palmer for Plymouth at the General Election in the summer of 1852 was, however, not entirely due to the exaggerated Protestantism of that constituency. The position of a member of a third party is never a very easy one; and, quite apart from the ecclesiastical difficulties of the time, the Peelite members had enough to trouble them. Sir Robert Peel had died in the summer of 1850, and early in 1852 Lord Derby had formed his first short-lived Administration. What, then, were the Peelites to do? It was clear that Protection was dead and buried. Should they rejoin their old Conservative friends, or should they draw closer to their late Free-Trade allies, going into opposition to Lord Derby's Ministry? Or should they follow a third course, viz. that of maintaining a position of independence and watching events?

Palmer was very loth to break with the Conservatives. He disliked and dreaded the advance of Radicalism and Democracy, and he believed that that advance could only be checked by the co-operation against it of all moderate Conservatives. Lord Derby's Ministry was a stop-gap only. It must fall almost immediately; and then the Peelites would naturally and rightly exercise the predominant influence in a newly constituted party. These views were very fully asserted in a letter to Cardwell, which was shown to Gladstone and the Duke of Newcastle. But, as we know, they did not prevail. The Prime Minister and the Peelites—Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Sidney Herbert, Cardwell, and the rest—might easily have come together, but the latter could not forgive Disraeli for the virulence of his attacks on their late revered leader; and it may well be doubted also whether Disraeli would have felt at all inclined to welcome back the predominating influence of such powerful colleagues. Palmer accordingly determined to maintain his independence, and might, perhaps, have been re-elected had not the whole influence of the Derby Government, great in a dockyard town, been used against him. The Ministerial candidate was returned, but his triumph was of short duration, as he was unseated for bribery, and in May 1853 Roundell Palmer became once more member for Plymouth.

As a matter of course Palmer gave his support to the Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, that most peace-loving of Prime Ministers, under whose Premiership the country embarked on the only great European war in which she has

engaged since Waterloo ; but when, on the fall of Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston succeeded to power the Peelites once more assumed an independent position, and secured the sympathies of Palmer by their efforts to bring about a peace. It was in these years that he made acquaintance in the House of Commons with Lord Aberdeen's son and private secretary, Arthur Gordon (now Lord Stanmore), and perhaps the most valuable portion of the remainder of these volumes consists of the letters addressed by Palmer to this most intimate of all his friends. Their friendship naturally brought about a closer social intercourse between Palmer and Lord Aberdeen, whom Palmer always ranked very high indeed among British statesmen, though he did not easily bring himself to assent to Lord Aberdeen's view of statesmanship, viz. that practical questions must wait to be dealt with till public opinion is ripe, and 'that under our system of government any long foresight, on points which the classes concerned and the people at large do not understand to require new legislation, is not possible.' 'Opportunism' was a qualification for statesmanship that did not stand high in Palmer's eyes ; and he breaks out in an observation, in a letter to Arthur Gordon, that under our system 'it almost seems that a great man must become a small one to succeed in governing.' In the same letter, in discussing the memoir of Sir Robert Peel, he refers to these difficulties of our system, and again shows his distaste for opportunism. Palmer revered Peel highly, yet he declares he does not think it possible for his most ardent admirers to call him a really great man without setting up a low standard of greatness, since

'in this very memoir Peel vindicates one of the main acts of his life (an act, I should say, of the plainest justice and the highest policy), not because it was just and politic, but merely on the ground of irresistible public necessity ; leaving it to be inferred that he thought that the resistance of that measure would have continued to be right, if it had continued to be possible, and it became wrong only because it was checkmated.'

Roundell Palmer, it need hardly be said, would much have preferred an Aberdeen to a Palmerston Ministry, and at the end of 1856 the Peelites were again anxiously questioning themselves and each other as to how they ought to act. The alliance of the last ten years with the Liberal party, though the Coalition Ministry had broken down, could not but have done much to encourage personal terms of friendship between Liberal and Peelite politicians. With

many of the leading Whigs, such as Sir George Grey, Palmer had grown into great intimacy, while we hear of no social *rapprochement* with Lord Derby or his followers. Palmer writes to Cardwell at this time * that Gladstone seemed to be the only one of the Peelites who showed any disposition to join the Conservative Opposition. Were they, then, if invited, to join as units the Ministry of Lord Palmerston? To Palmer, holding as he did the professional lead in the Chancery Courts, the matter was of great personal importance, as his position would give him a claim to a law officership on the occurrence of a vacancy; but neither at this time nor at any other had the prospect of office much, if any, influence in determining his political action. Cardwell answered that, for his own part, he did not share the Peelite distrust of Palmerston, he had no fear of the excessive Radicalism of the Whig Ministry, and, with Lord Aberdeen's full approval, he was himself prepared to throw in his lot with that party, all the more that in his eyes the Conservatives, under the leadership of Disraeli, were rapidly losing all character and reputation both in the House of Commons and the country. Cardwell, moreover, unlike Palmer, though he admired Gladstone, and would willingly support his leadership of the House of Commons, heartily disliked his ecclesiastical leanings, and would not at all like to see the patronage of the Church in such hands.

What then, writes † Palmer to Arthur Gordon, ought he to do? Once more he reviews the recent history of parties, and discusses the existing position. In many ways he would have liked the leadership of Gladstone; but if Gladstone really meant to join the Conservatives he would carry hardly any one with him, and no strong Ministry would result.

'Gladstone would bring, indeed, his own splendid powers; but their moral weight would be much broken in the opinion both of the House and of the country, which esteems variableness in political attachments to be the cardinal sin of a statesman. And after all Gladstone, with all those qualities which make us admire and love him, baffles all calculation by the great individuality of his mind—at once conscientious and ambitious, subtle and vehement, impulsive and discriminating. He is a comet, the elements of whose orbit are as yet but imperfectly known. It is a great question with me personally whether to commit myself to him for better or worse. I think I could decide to do so if it were merely or mainly a question of my own ambition or self-interest. But, unfortunately, I have a perverse

* November 3, 1856.

† November 9, 1856.

habit of thinking for myself, and a conscience which, when I have formed a decided opinion upon any matter of real consequence, drives me to act upon it. I have found myself differing from him before, and I may do so again. Even upon Church questions, upon which we go a long way together, I doubt whether I am not a good deal more Protestant than he is. It is one thing to follow such a man as the guiding and animating spirit of an organised, intelligible party, and another to go with him as the centre of gravity of a few atoms projected into infinite space.'

But there was another powerful personality in the House of Commons whose conduct and character were hardly less important than were those of Mr. Gladstone in determining the shape into which the still unsettled political combinations of that day were ultimately to be cast. Palmer, as appears later on in the letter just quoted, would have found no difficulty in associating with Lord Robert Cecil (now Lord Salisbury) and other Conservative leaders, but a real Conservative union became most improbable in view of 'the 'sinister influence of an adventurer like Disraeli upon the 'character and fortunes of any party with whom he may be 'associated, and the total impossibility of either getting rid 'of him altogether or safely throwing him into the back-ground.'

These speculations were put an end to by Lord Palmerston's action with regard to the affair of the ironclad 'Arrow' and the Chinese war of 1857. Palmer joined Gladstone and most of the Peelites in uniting with Lord John Russell, Mr. Cobden, and the Conservative Opposition in censuring the high-handed action of the British representative in China, which was heartily supported by the Prime Minister. Palmer's vote and speech on this occasion cost him his seat at Plymouth, and Lord Palmerston and the war party obtained a great majority at the General Election over the heterogeneous forces of their opponents. 'However highly,' says Lord Selborne,* 'the British people 'may value the blessings of peace, the occasions are rare on 'which they do not support their Government at the beginning of a war; and the mere suggestion of an insult to 'the British flag is enough to excite a great deal of feeling, 'sometimes more patriotic than just.'

When Gladstone joined, in 1859, the Government of Lord Palmerston, the separate action of the Peelites as a party came to an end. Palmer was still absent from the House of Commons, caring, as usual, very little for prospects of office,

* Part i. vol. ii. p. 325.

but fired with a desire to emulate the example of men 'like Sir Samuel Romilly and M. Guizot' and do some real service to his country. In 1861, on the death of Lord Chancellor Campbell, legal changes and promotions became necessary, and a seat was found for Palmer in Lord Zetland's Whig borough of Richmond. On July 1 he became Solicitor-General, stipulating, however, that he should be free to take his own line on two subjects to which he attached extreme importance, viz. Church rates and marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

As a law officer of the Crown questions of momentous importance arising out of our position of neutrality during the American Civil War came before him. The 'Trent affair' of 1861-2, and the cases of the 'Alabama' and other cruisers, are narrated in these 'Memorials.' Palmer's observations on these matters, especially on the cases of the cruisers, which did so much damage to the commerce of the Northern States, merit careful attention, and certainly clear the then Government of any undue leaning towards the Southern States, or of any slackness in the maintenance of our neutrality. Lord Palmerston's Ministry, though suffering some loss of credit in its failure to protect Denmark against German and Austrian aggression, retained its majority in the House of Commons, and on an appeal to the country in 1865 once more received the support of the people. On the death of Lord Palmerston in October of that year Lord Russell became for the second time Prime Minister, and Mr. Gladstone—now member not for Oxford, but for South Lancashire, and 'unmuzzled'—leader of the House of Commons. And so 'a new era began,' and Roundell Palmer, now Attorney-General, found himself for the first time member of a Ministry sincerely bent upon pressing forward without any delay genuine and thorough reform. All the old dreams of a great Conservative union to arrest the march of democracy had passed away. To the great gain of the Liberal party and cause he had thrown in his lot with the reformers, and, till Mr. Gladstone twenty years later perpetrated his great surrender to Mr. Parnell, Palmer's wise, moderating, and patriotic counsels were at the service of those who claimed to be on the side of progress.

Throughout his life Roundell Palmer's Conservatism was due much more to his ecclesiastical bias than to any sympathy with old Tory prejudices in favour of 'privilege'; and his original dislike to the onward march of democracy was doubtless diminished by his constant association with

statesmen genuinely attached to reform, yet no less opposed to revolution than he was himself. There was courage on his part, but there was nothing inconsistent with his former principles, in his declaration in May 1866 that his own personal opinions were in favour of household suffrage in the cities and boroughs, thus going far in advance on that subject of almost every man of mark of the day, with the exception of John Bright. The splendid rhetoric of Robert Lowe, in many respects a strong Radical, called forth Palmer's admiration without shaking his opinions; and Gladstone's famous reminder to the Tory party that after all the newly enfranchised electors would be our 'own flesh 'and blood' (a declaration which brought upon his head the fiercest denunciations of his opponents) contained nothing with which he did not thoroughly sympathise. The following year—the year of the Conservative Reform Bill—Palmer acted up to his professions; that is, he exerted himself with much success to convert the Government scheme, which was full of checks and counterpoises, into a pure and simple household franchise measure. In those days, writes Lord Selborne in his old age, 'no dangerous 'sentimentality had become a factor in our politics. . . . 'In 1866, as in 1832, the political leaders were trained 'statesmen, in whose honesty of purpose and desire to lead 'the people in constitutional ways confidence might be 'placed. So at least I believed, and at that time probably 'it was true.' Perhaps future history may record that these virtues did not forty years ago entirely cease to characterise political leadership, and may point out that to no men in their time were good and wise and patriotic intentions more fiercely denied by their opponents than to the reforming statesmen of 1832 and 1866. It is too true that since then political leaders have done much which deserves the severest censure, but still there is reason to hope that the final verdict of history will be that even in the worst cases these statesmen were honest of purpose, and at least meant well.

It was to be expected that Palmer's old friends should accuse him of having turned Radical, to which the retort was easy that he was as Conservative as the leader of the Tory party, and that old party names had completely lost their meaning. While in civil matters he was thus apparently merging in the orthodox Liberalism of the day, in matters ecclesiastical an extreme party of modern ritualists were leaving old High Churchmen like himself far behind them. 'I think you must agree with me,' he writes

in June 1867 to the Rev. Frank Faber, ‘in utterly condemning the new spurious race of High Churchmen, than whom “to obey” is not better than *vestments*, nor “to hearken” than the *smell of incense*. In scurrilousness, especially against the bishops, some of their publications so far exceed anything which the “Record” ever wrote in its worst days as to make that paper appear, by comparison, quite unsectarian and charitable.’

Palmer was soon to show how little his four years of office and his hearty co-operation with the Liberal party had done to destroy his individuality, and ‘his inveterate ‘habit’ of judging and acting for himself on all questions of real importance. At the General Election consequent on the Reform Act of 1867 Gladstone, who had made the Disestablishment of the Irish Church the main issue with the electorate, was enthusiastically supported throughout the three kingdoms, and in December the Queen asked him to form his first Administration. Next day the new Prime Minister offered Palmer the place of Lord Chancellor. It was declined, in spite of the pressure of Gladstone and his old friend Cardwell, on the ground that he felt bound to avow and act upon his opinions on the subject of Dis-establishment; but he was at the same time, so he wrote to Mr. Gladstone, determined to reconcile any differences of opinion ‘with the maintenance of cordial relations with ‘the Liberal party, and a personal attachment towards ‘yourself, which I am sure nothing can ever disturb.’ Palmer both spoke and voted against the second reading of the Government Bill, his main objection being to the Disendowment provisions, an essential portion of the measure. In committee and in private negotiations between the supporters and opponents of the Bill he exerted every effort to mitigate what he thought would be the harshness and severity of its operation. And he succeeded in the by no means easy task of frankly opposing the policy of Ministers without any breach of the friendly relations that previously existed between them.

Curiously enough it was in the discussion of the Land Bill of 1871, and not on the Irish Church Bill of 1868, that Mr. Gladstone felt most inclined warmly to resent the criticisms of Sir Roundell Palmer. The latter supported the principle of the Bill, but in committee supported certain amendments of detail against the strong wish of the Government, or at least of its leader. ‘Gladstone was offended. It was always one of his defects to have no

'just sense of the proportion of things. This made him 'irritable under the most friendly criticism—disposed to 'exalt details into principles, and to magnify much beyond 'its value every concession which he could be induced to 'offer.' Gladstonian organs began to speak of Palmer as a 'candid friend,' and an interchange of letters took place, in which the Minister complained that Palmer was 'bringing 'into a focus the scattered elements of disapproval;' and the independent member replied that his convictions pre-vented his remaining silent, and that he felt it a duty to maintain according to his lights 'the principles upon 'which property and society are based.' Still the last thing Palmer wished was to injure the Government or endanger their Bill, and accordingly he ultimately forbore from pressing upon them concessions they had absolutely determined to refuse. 'Gladstone's mind,' wrote Palmer to Sir Arthur Gordon (quoting Archbishop Whately's observation after reading his book on 'Church and State'), 'is a sort of *cul de sac*, without a thoroughfare.' And as to what might be Gladstone's future courses Palmer once again was deeply troubled.

We need not follow Palmer's career in the short time that still remained to him as a private member. He showed himself, on the whole, a steady party man, supporting his friends on the question of the Royal Warrant on Army Purchase, which he considered the least objectionable method of escape from an *impasse*, and earning the especial gratitude of the Ministry by lending his powerful and much needed assistance to shield them from the fierce attacks to which the so-called 'Collier Job' had exposed them. The defence he made then he repeats in his book, and it certainly goes far towards vindicating the action of Lord Hatherley in circumstances which *prima facie* bore a very unpleasant aspect. In the summer of 1872 Palmer represented his country at the Geneva arbitration. He returned in October, just as Lord Hatherley, whose eyesight had failed, resigned the seals, and Palmer, with the approval of all men, became Lord Chancellor.

Roundell Palmer had won for himself, by force of his character and abilities, a unique position of influence in the House of Commons. It was recognised on all sides that he had no ends of a personal object in view, and that he was solely bent on serving the true interests of his country. His moderation, the fairness with which he treated those from whom he differed, and the entire absence

from his character of any spirit of personal jealousy or rivalry, gave far more weight than is usual to the counsels of an unofficial and independent member of Parliament, however able. It is said that no offer of the Great Seal had before his time ever been declined on a point of conscience, and in his case a man of less scrupulous honesty would have found it very easy to persuade himself that the policy to which he objected being already virtually an accomplished fact, he would do most good in modifying by his influence in the Cabinet the details of an objectionable Bill. Once again, in more recent days, has the coveted seat on the woolsack been declined on the ground of principle by another statesman. The patriotic sacrifices made by Lord Selborne and Lord James of Hereford have done much to uphold the character of British statesmanship, and to confute the sweeping imputations too often made on the political sincerity of the members of a noble profession.

On the woolsack Lord Selborne showed himself a thorough law reformer, introducing and carrying through Parliament the Judicature Act of 1873, which combined in one Supreme Court all the jurisdictions of then existing Superior Courts. It was a great work, though even reformers may regret that it was found necessary to sweep away so many old names closely associated with English history. Lord Selborne was warmly supported by Lord Cairns, and he had the approval also of Lord Hatherley, Lord Romilly, and most of the other great dignitaries of the law. As regards the Court of Appeal, the Lord Chancellor's proposals were too radical for the public. The House of Lords was ready to part with its judicial authority to the new Court, but opposition originating in Scotland declared itself to this part of the scheme, and ultimately the House of Lords as the supreme court of appeal was retained.

The time, short as it was, that Lord Selborne held the seals during Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry, and the strange manner in which that Ministry ended, naturally made him better acquainted than he had ever been before with the complex character of his chief. Parliament had been summoned to reassemble on February 5, 1874, and at the end of January the Prime Minister took the world, and even his colleagues, by surprise by announcing an immediate dissolution. 'In the Greenwich manifesto, addressed to the 'whole kingdom, Mr. Gladstone took the unusual course of bidding for a new term of power by the promise of a new

' financial policy—undisclosed until then even to the Cabinet —the total repeal of the income tax.' This project, which he had never mooted during his many years in office as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister, was now put before the people, in all outward appearance the considered policy of the Queen's advisers, but in truth the reckless electioneering bid for popularity of one ambitious man. At the time the project was at all events feasible, for a very large surplus was in view, and there may have been much to be said for the new financial policy. The country, however, rejected the appeal made to its pocket. Mr. Gladstone never afterwards said a single word in favour of his own plan, and the financial policy of the nation, and especially of the Liberal party, has developed in exactly the opposite direction.

The real reason for this sudden dissolution, so fatal in its consequences to the Liberal party, was Mr. Gladstone's difficulty as to his seat (a very shaky one) at Greenwich. He had accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer while still remaining First Lord of the Treasury, receiving half the salary attached to the former and the whole of that belonging to the latter office. The acceptance of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer by statute vacated his seat, unless that acceptance was *in lieu of and in immediate succession to* the Lordship of the Treasury. If, then, Mr. Gladstone had met Parliament in February he would have been liable in heavy penalties for sitting and voting when the seat was vacant. To his own subtle mind, however, his acceptance of the Exchequer appeared to come within the statutory exception as to vacating seats, and he had even persuaded himself that considerable legal authority was on his side. The matter was to have been formally considered in consultation by the Lord Chancellor and the law officers before the meeting of Parliament, and what their opinion would have been there can be no doubt. ' From these difficulties a dissolution was the only escape, and I have never doubted that this was the determining cause of the dissolution of January 1874.*'

A few months later Lord Selborne writes at length on the political situation to Sir Arthur Gordon (September 6, 1874). After considering the position of the new Conservative Government, and the character and qualifications of the men composing it, he turns to his own friends.

* Memorials, part ii. vol. i. p. 330.

'I cannot say that my opinion of Gladstone, as a statesman, has risen with the opportunities I have had since 1871 of observing him more closely, though my opinion of him *as a man* has certainly suffered nothing. For the *arts* of political management he trusts too implicitly, I think, to whippers-in, and other men, inferior in political earnestness and insight to himself; and, with respect to the business of legislation and government, his mind seems to me to be too one-sided and vehement, and to want accuracy, equability, a sense of proportion and breadth. He can hardly be brought to interest himself at all in matters (even when they are really great matters) in which he is not carried away by some strong attraction; and when he is carried away he does not sympathise with or take counsel with those whose point of view is at all different from his own. This makes it hardly possible for him to be minister, except when it is the time for some heroic measures, for which he can excite public enthusiasm; at other times his mind is not a centre round which other minds can revolve, or which so associates itself with the thoughts and interests of other men as to harmonise and regulate their action in the manner necessary for ordinary good government.'

It was this character of Gladstone's mind, Lord Selborne continues, which made the latter dread lest his chief should be drawn into revolutionary or Radical measures, such as Disestablishment in England and Scotland, were those questions ever to grow in importance in their influence on political parties.

With Disestablishment Lord Selborne would, of course, have nothing to do under any circumstances, and he gives his friend his reasons for holding that its present conditions of connexion with the State are not such as to trammel the freedom and energy of the Church.

'I think too,' he writes, 'that the strength of the Church of England, whether viewed on the religious or the political side, is so great as to make its destruction not only not inevitable, but hardly possible, but for the effect of internal dissensions; as to which, while I admit that, if the most powerful religious influences in the Church cannot reconcile themselves to the actual terms of the existing settlement, and to their *bona fide* observance and enforcement, the institution cannot stand, I am myself more hopeful than some others that they may be kept within the limits necessary for self-preservation.'

The verdict of the country having been given against Mr. Gladstone, he announced his intention to retire definitely from the lead of the Liberal party. In the session of 1874, however, the Public Worship Regulation Bill was introduced. It had the approval of the majority of the episcopal bench and the support of the Government, but Mr. Gladstone greatly disliked it, and came up from retirement at

Hawarden expressly to oppose it. Lord Selborne, on the whole, favoured the Bill, regretting the introduction of, and the excessive importance given to, mediæval doctrines and practices by 'disintegrating' associations and societies like the English Church Union. A wide difference, in short, existed between the old High Churchmen and the modern ritualists. Lord Selborne disliked the 'society system even 'in those fields of action where Churchmen of all ranks, and of 'all shades of opinion, accepted and made use of it. The new 'extension of it to doctrine, worship, and discipline seemed 'to him to be an intrusion upon the episcopal office, and 'repugnant to the Catholic profession, with which it was 'accompanied.' Lord Selborne founded his amendments to the Bill (which, however, were not accepted) on that very clause of the Preface to the Prayer Book upon which recent proceedings have been taken at Lambeth. According to his scheme, cases in which the Bishop had doubts would have been decided by the provincial court of the Archbishop (of course a true ecclesiastical court, having real jurisdiction), with appeal to the Queen in Council.

Gladstone's retirement from active politics, announced in the spring, was somewhat broken in upon by these unexpected ecclesiastical discussions of the first session of the new Parliament. For the most part, however, he was entirely absorbed in his pamphlet on 'Vaticanism.' Sir Arthur Gordon visited him at Hawarden in November, 'and found him quite unable to talk or think of anything except religious and ecclesiastical questions. . . . He thought him not quite so determined as he was not to take office again, and he consented to contemplate the possibility of his once more being Prime Minister.' Like his correspondent, Sir Arthur Gordon greatly feared that Gladstone's mind was turning towards Disestablishment. All these speculations, however, as to the direction in which Mr. Gladstone's political principles were to develope were rendered vain by the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish question, the Bulgarian atrocities, and the prospect of the country being led by the Disraeli Ministry into a Russian war.

Lord Selborne had, of course, no sympathy with the prevailing 'Jingoism' of that day, and no admiration for an ambitious foreign policy which plumed itself on the power of Great Britain to make her influence felt in every question of European policy. 'Such a disposition,' he writes to Sir Arthur Gordon in September 1878, 'is always agreeable to 'the passions and follies of mankind till they feel its cost too

' severely. It is the explanation of the popularity of almost all the wars in which this country has ever been engaged, and almost all of which must now appear, to any civilised and dispassionate student of history, to have been impolitic and unjustifiable.'

Lord Selborne heartily agreed with his party in the electoral campaign of 1879-80, and in the spring of the latter year he a second time took his seat on the woolsack in Mr. Gladstone's second Administration. The Liberal party had obtained a large majority. It was full of confidence in its great leader, and few men in the party doubted that a new era of peace, prosperity, and progress was about to begin.

Alas for these sanguine hopes! Before the fall of that Ministry some good, even great, work was accomplished; but the tone of Lord Selborne's letters reflects too truly the growing sense of failure and disappointment that soon cast its shadow over the public mind. The General Election had been fought in the main on the question of foreign policy. We had been on the brink of war with Russia; and in Afghanistan and South Africa we had met with disasters.

Assuredly the legacy of difficulties to which Mr. Gladstone succeeded was a heavy one. In South Africa the new Government did not grasp the situation with a firm hand. It did not like to reverse the fatal policy of its predecessors, who had annexed the Transvaal without the free consent plainly given of its people. A rising of the Boers took place in the autumn of 1880, and it was resolved to put it down. The military disasters suffered by our arms rendered the great majority of Englishmen oblivious to every consideration but that of retrieving by victory the national prestige; and the peace by which independence was granted to the Transvaal State was a most unpopular one. Yet the reasons alleged by the Government at the time, and repeated by Lord Selborne in his 'Memorials,' deserve to be carefully weighed. They were founded on strong grounds—partly moral, partly political.

'The negotiation ended in an arrangement by which enough power was reserved to the British Crown to fulfil our original conception of what was desirable, and to make the settlement, if it had been permanent, a good one. But it was not, and the Boers never meant it to be permanent; and before long it underwent a revision, which reduced to a mere name the form of British supremacy which had been retained. The war, however, was at an end; and if the circumstances

were not gratifying to our national pride it was enough that the public conscience ratified the decision of the Government.'

Before, however, the first session of the new Parliament was many weeks old, it was very evident that the handling by the new Ministry of domestic questions was likely to excite the deepest attention of the public. It has often happened that a Ministry and party have lost popularity with the electorate of the day on account of their adherence to a policy for which posterity has had nothing but praise. The Poor Law of 1834, for instance, drew down much popular ill-will on the Government which had passed the Great Reform Bill. To the Ministry of 1880 Ireland was throughout the great source of its trouble, and the real cause of its fall in 1885; but even now history is unable to pronounce whether the sweeping land legislation which Mr. Gladstone induced his colleagues and his party to accept, and Parliament to pass, has been really beneficial to the Irish people. Lord Selborne had very little more liking than other people for Mr. Forster's 'Disturbance Bill,' and he was already almost tempted to envy old friends, like Lord Cardwell, who were not in the Ministry.

In the autumn and winter of 1880-1 lawlessness reached a pitch in Ireland which no Government should have tolerated for a week. Lord Selborne's speech at the Guildhall on November 9, insisting on the primary duty of Ministers to uphold the law, while they energetically endeavoured to find a remedy for popular discontent, caused a demonstration such as had not been heard there for a generation. Lord Selborne's views were shared by almost all responsible men, and accordingly the first proceeding of the session of 1881 was to pass a Coercion Act, not unfortunately a wisely considered measure in view of the condition of affairs it was intended to meet; and the second was to pass the sweeping Land Act of 1881, the foundation of everything that has been done since with regard to land legislation in Ireland. Lord Selborne thought, and probably rightly, that nothing short of the proposals of that measure would have been of use. We are not, however, now discussing the merits or demerits of the new system of land-owning and land-holding then introduced, but the part taken by Lord Selborne.

'I did not doubt,' he writes in his old age, 'that all my colleagues, as well as myself, would stand resolutely by the substance of the settlement then made, in favour of landlord as well as tenant, happen what might, and that they would have the power as well as the will to do it.'

Nor do I doubt now that, if they had done so, that settlement might have been advantageous to men of all classes. My declarations that I considered it beneficial, under the circumstances with which we had to deal, to the owners as well as to the occupiers of land, were absolutely sincere. If I had thought otherwise, if I had supposed that those whose responsibility I shared could have joined hands, as soon as they were out of office, with the League established to drive "landlordism" out of Ireland, and accept the denunciations of that League, instead of the law of the land, as the practical measure of the rights of landlords, and the extent to which they ought to be recognised and enforced, I could not have done any act, or spoken a word, in the direction of what (to me at all events) would have been an inexcusable breach of public duty and good faith.' ('Memorials,' part ii. vol. ii. p. 26.)

Lord Selborne and most of his Cabinet colleagues were in ignorance of the correspondence which preceded the so-called 'Treaty of Kilmainham' and Mr. Forster's resignation. With Lord Spencer, just before the latter's departure to Ireland, and a Committee of the Cabinet, Lord Selborne had agreed upon the heads of a new Coercion Bill, the introduction of which measure in May was in no way due (so he always contended) to the Phoenix Park murders. It should be remembered, however, upon this point that in the Liberal party at the time there was much difference of opinion as to the wisdom of having recourse to fresh coercion, that distinguished members of the party were known to dislike it, that Mr. Parnell believed it would not come to pass, and that among the moderate section of Mr. Gladstone's following his firmness on the question was greatly doubted. It may very well, therefore, be open to question whether, but for the murders of May 6, the Crimes Act of 1882 would really have been pressed through Parliament.

When the Ministry fell three years later their fall was no doubt partly due to the unpopularity they had incurred from the failure to relieve Khartoum and the death of Gordon. There was, in truth, a general sense of failure and disheartenment all round; but undoubtedly one of the causes of their defeat in the House of Commons on Mr. Childers's Budget was the difference of opinion among Liberals as to the renewal of the Crimes Act; and Lord Selborne was not the only member of the Cabinet to whom personally the fall of that Ministry was welcome. The Government had passed a large measure of democratic reform, but otherwise they had done little either at home or abroad to justify the high hopes of 1880. Five years had passed, during which one

eminent statesman after another had felt himself forced on grounds of conscience to relinquish office, and at last absolute rupture was only averted by the well-timed occurrence of a defeat in the House of Commons.* The Liberal party in outward appearance still held together as a whole ; but there was no common principle upon which it was united, and its great leader had largely lost the confidence of men who in the past had done much to help him to victory.

Lord Selborne at that period fully expected Mr. Gladstone, now seventy-six years of age, finally to retire from political strife. It would have been well for his future fame had he done so ; but that course did not recommend itself either to party managers or himself. The condition of the Liberal party at the dissolution of 1885 is best called to mind by two phrases then in every one's mouth—‘the Radical programme’ and ‘the Gladstone umbrella.’ Neither was at all to the taste of Lord Selborne. He was provoked by the vagueness and ‘the misty facing both ways fashion’ in which Mr. Gladstone in his election address approached public questions of the first importance, and on the other hand he warmly resented the pretensions of Radicals to make ‘Disestablishment’ a test question for Liberal candidates. Had the Conservative Ministry in its short career of office shown to greater advantage they might perhaps have secured the victory at the polls. They did indeed obtain the help in Great Britain of the Parnellite vote ; but a supposed ‘Tory-Parnellite alliance’ was denounced on every Liberal platform, and certainly brought no real advantage to the Government. The result of the election was to give a majority of eighty-four to the Liberals over the Conservatives. The Irish Home Rulers, however, also numbered eighty-four, so that if they combined with the Conservatives the Liberal majority would disappear.

Every one recollects the consequences to which this unsatisfactory state of parties gave birth—the adoption of the Home Rule policy by Mr. Gladstone, the formation of a Liberal Unionist party, and the defeat of Home Rule in the House of Commons and in the country. Since 1885 the Liberal or Home Rule party has never had a majority in Great Britain.

Lord Selborne was now in his seventy-fifth year. He had worked throughout his life as few men have worked. In

* Lord Selborne to Mr. Goldwin Smith, August 22, 1885.

the spring of 1885 a terrible blow fell upon him in the death of Lady Selborne; but no desire of repose, no private grief, however deep, could hold him back from the performance to the very utmost of his powers of the duty which he felt he owed to his country. Even those who knew him well did not recognise, till he had flung himself into this great struggle, the enthusiasm and fire which, concealed under the appearance of reserve, formed in truth the basis of his nature. We need not refer to his speeches or letters of those days. This was a very different contest from that on the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. Then he made a noble protest. Now the gloves were off, and he was fighting for victory. Those who had listened in the past to the powerful and elaborate arguments with which the great equity lawyer was accustomed to reply in the House of Lords to his formidable political opponent and lifelong friend Lord Cairns were astounded at the ease with which he could catch the ear and stir the feeling of great popular audiences, convincing them by the sheer force of his own sincerity of the patriotism of his motives and of the justice of his cause.

Lord Selborne saw the defenders of the Union carry all before them in 1886. He saw the Home Rulers obtain in 1892 a majority sufficient to give them office without real power to carry out their ends; and he himself took part in the debate and division in the House of Lords which, amid the plaudits of the people, rejected the last of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bills. He died in the spring of 1895, and thus did not live to see the consummation of his long cherished hope that an Administration and party might be formed out of statesmen from both sides of politics united upon a great principle, determined to uphold law and order in every part of the kingdom, and ready to welcome and forward every practical reform which promised benefit to the people. That, indeed, happened only a few weeks after he had been laid in his grave at Blackmoor; but it had been long foreseen, and the end of his life was cheered by the knowledge that that which he had so long earnestly desired was practically already won.

We would not spoil by quotation the admirable analysis Lord Selborne has left us of the character of Mr. Gladstone.* Very much of the interest of these volumes turns on the history of that gradual loss of confidence in Mr. Gladstone, increasing as years went on, which circumstances forced upon

* *Memorials*, part ii. vol. ii. p. 389.

the unwilling mind of his friend. To young Roundell Palmer fresh from Oxford and for many a year afterwards Gladstone was the coming hero of his age, who was to inspire with his own lofty ideas in Church and State a new generation of statesmen. Half a century later Lord Selborne had come to regard him as the most dangerous opponent of those very principles which they both had cherished. He knew Gladstone's power over men, and his singular fascination, and he made excuses on that ground for the irresponsible fashion in which too many had followed him. 'I was too long under the master's spell not to have some fellow feeling with them, for I know how impossible it is not to admire and how very easy to love him.'

We have here intended to deal with the political side only of Lord Selborne's career, and have consequently left out of sight much that makes these 'Memorials' valuable and interesting. Lord Davey, Lord Hobhouse and others have contributed sketches of Roundell Palmer at the Bar, portraying in very graphic fashion the special attributes of his forensic method, and contrasting them with those of his eminent rivals, such as Bethel, Rolt, and Cairns. Of his almost incredible industry men will long speak—how once he worked for sixty hours without cessation, and how at another time he was not in bed between Monday and Saturday! We have also had to omit all reference to his very elaborate and valuable discussion of the great ecclesiastical causes in which he took part or felt an interest.

We have, moreover, said nothing of his home life or of the very numerous letters written to his friends on matters purely personal and private. Yet here perhaps may best be read the real character of the man. Some of these letters, written when the writer or his correspondent was suffering the greatest of human sorrows, are full of tenderness, and beauty, and wisdom. Lady Sophia Palmer contributes a few pages descriptive of the last days of her father's life, and of what he was to those who knew him best. The true greatness and goodness of Lord Selborne are revealed in these volumes, which bear out to the full Lady Sophia's last paragraph.

'Perhaps the secret of his influence lay in absolute unselfseeking, in entire truthfulness, the directness and simplicity of a little child; in his tendency to humility as regarded others, in sternness as regarded himself, in an inspiring sense of duty which pervaded his society, in his matter-of-course relationship with his God.'

- ART. IX.—1. *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*, written A.D. 1684. By RODERIC O'FLAHERTY. Edited with Notes and Illustrations by Hardiman. Dublin: 1846.**
- 2. *Letters from the Irish Highlands of Connemara*. London: 1824.**
- 3. *Annual Reports of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland*. Dublin: 1893–99.**

THE task which we propose to ourselves in the present article is, happily, more congenial than is sometimes the case when Irish topics are under consideration. Of the abundant literature of pamphlets, essays, and reviews to which Ireland has given occasion in the present century, it is to be feared that a very large—not to say the larger—part are occupied with the difficulties and the distresses, the troubles and the dangers, which the state of Ireland has so frequently presented for consideration and criticism. But it is not with the darker or less attractive side of the picture that we are concerned here. Connemara, indeed, like every backward and unfruitful region, has its problems for the economist and for the statesman; and these have been the objects in recent years of the attentive solicitude of the Parliament and people of the United Kingdom. But it is not mainly to those problems that we wish to direct attention now. Our design is rather to bring into prominence certain facts and features in the history and traditions of this westernmost portion of the kingdom, which, while not very generally known, or very readily ascertained, are likely to interest the increasing number of persons whom the enlargement of locomotive facilities has attracted of late years to Connemara.

We may begin by defining the geographical area to which the name Connemara has been somewhat loosely and erroneously given; for the application to what is spoken of in modern guide-books as the ‘Irish Highlands’ of a term which literally signifies ‘bays of the sea’ is a comparatively modern habit, and one which, if unexplained, might create a certain confusion. In strictness the name belongs only to the sea-girt district which is comprised in the barony of Ballynahinch, and which, extending from the Killeries on the north to Killkerrin Bay on the south, has for its eastern boundary the rugged and treeless elevations known to the natives as Bennabeola, but more familiar to travellers

as ‘The Twelve Pins.’ This district, which is the real Connemara, and which, according to a more accurate etymology than that above referred to, should properly be written Conmacnamara—the sea territory of the descendants of Conmac—is, however, but a small part of the region to which the name Connemara is popularly applied, and of which we mean to speak in the present article. The latter comprises, in addition, the high tableland known as Joyce’s country to the north-east, corresponding to the half-barony of Ross, and the low-lying moorland and bogs popularly called Iar-Connaught to the south-east, corresponding to the barony of Moycullen. Thus Connemara, in its wider sense, consists of all that part of the county of Galway which stretches westward from Lough Mask and Lough Corrib to the sea, a territory extending some fifty miles from east to west, and about forty from north to south.

The area we have thus defined is separated on three sides by natural boundaries from the rest of the country, and, as its northern extremity is conterminous with part of the county Mayo—that is, with a district which, after Connemara itself, is among the wildest in Ireland—the hard facts of geography long decreed Connemara to an isolation which there was little in its native characteristics to counteract. Wild and barren and desolate, there was little in it to attract the most predatory or hungriest of the clans or septs that dwelt upon its borders; and thus it happens that, though its history prior to the thirteenth century is an almost absolute blank, there is probably no part of Ireland in which it is possible to trace so accurately the course of modern Irish history, or to discern so clearly the marks of the gradual developement and consolidation of English rule. It is with this aspect of Connemara—one which we feel warranted in saying is curiously unfamiliar even to those who are intimately acquainted with its moors and mountains, its vales and lakes and bogs—that we chiefly propose to deal in the following pages. And though we shall conclude by offering some reflections upon the possibilities of the district, and the steps which have been, and are being, taken for its developement in pursuance of the policy so sagaciously instituted for its benefit by Mr. Arthur Balfour, it is rather the past than either the present or future of Connemara that will chiefly engage our attention.

‘I’ll bless you, any way ; but sorra foot I’ll ever put upon you.’ Such is the apostrophe imputed by accepted tradition to the patron saint of Ireland, as, viewing, from the bare

summit of the gaunt mountain range that continued to form for fourteen centuries from the date of his utterance an impassable barrier to civilisation, the bleak and desolate plain that stretched before him to the sea, St. Patrick looked for the first and last time on the barren solitudes of Connemara. Whether the missionary saint ever indulged in the half-humorous, half-pathetic speculation attributed to him, or whether, as is more probable, the saying was ascribed to him by the pious anxiety of the people to show that this western wilderness had at least been seen by St. Patrick, we need not inquire too curiously; but it is certain that the saint's reluctance to extend his journeys into Connemara stands in little need of excuse. Hopelessly barren and impassable as its untrodden wilds appeared, even a thousand years later, the aspect of Connemara must have been as forbidding to a fifth-century traveller as the Arctic regions are to-day. For though St. Fechin and other disciples of St. Patrick in the seventh century undoubtedly visited its farthest coasts, and planted the first seeds of Christianity among its rude inhabitants, the evangelisation of Connemara was in no sense synonymous with its civilisation. Even the Danes, whom the numerous fjord-like bays of its coast might be expected to attract, fought shy of its bleak and inhospitable wastes. The only record of their visit to its coasts is significant. In 812, says the Chronicle, they entered Connemara, where they slaughtered the inhabitants. For long ages the country remained absolutely *terra incognita* to Great Britain and the rest of the world. Centuries elapsed after the English conquest ere the rulers of the island became so much as aware of the existence of the district, and down to the time of the late Tudor sovereigns it remained entirely unexplored.

A country without a history cannot be expected to produce an historian, and Connemara remained undescribed till close on the end of the seventeenth century. In 1684 Roderic O'Flaherty, well known to students of Irish history as the author of the 'Ogygia, or Chronicle of Irish 'Events,' set down the earliest written account of Connemara in his 'Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar 'Connaught.' Even this work, however, which remained unprinted for more than a century and a half from the date of its composition, was not a history or chronicle, but, as its name denotes, was confined to a topographical account of the ancient history of Iar Connaught. O'Flaherty's work was written, it is understood, as part of a design to illus-

trate Sir William Petty's celebrated Down survey by a series of treatises descriptive of the physical features of the country, and his account is little more than a brief and bald summary, which would not fill more than about thirty pages of this Review. But though thus statistical in its design, the chorographical account is not exclusively matter-of-fact in its particulars. At the era of the Down survey statistics had not been completely divorced from literature, nor had Roderic O'Flaherty fully absorbed the scientific spirit. The chorographical account of H-Iar Connaught is a quaint but attractive blend of fact and fancy, history and romance, accurate topography and fabled story. And its pages, while they faithfully describe the physical characteristics, reflect no less accurately the unspoiled loneliness which is still the charm of Connemara, and which must have been yet more marked two centuries back, when 'wolves, deere, ' foxes, badgers, hedgehogs, hares, rabbits, squirrels, martins, weasles, and the amphibious otter' were the principal and almost exclusive possessors of its primitive solitudes.

O'Flaherty's description of the ornithology of Connemara and his paragraph on the mystical island of O'Brasil offer a fair example of the style and method of this seventeenth-century chronicler; and the quaint mixture of the strictly true with the grossly improbable or obviously mythical will excuse the length of our quotations :—

' Both sea and land have their several kind of birds. Here is a kind of black eagle, which kills the deere by grappling him with his claw and forcing him to run headlong into precipices. Here the ganet soars into the sky to espy his prey in the sea under him, and swallows up whole herrings in a morsel. This bird flies through the ships' sails, piercing them with his beak. Here is the bird engendered by the sea out of timber long lying in sea. Some call them clakes and soland-geese, some puffins, others bernacles, because they resemble them. We call them *girrinn*. I omit other ordinary fowl and birds, as bernacles, wildgeese, swans, cocks of the woods and woodcocks, choughs, rooks, Cornish choughs with red legs and bills, etc. Here is fowl that custom allowed to eat on fasting days, as cormorant feeding only on fish, as also birds found on the high cliffs and rocks of Aran, which never fly but over the sea, which, with all other numerous sea birds, yield a great store of feathers. . . .

' From the Isles of Aran, and the west continent, often appears visible that enchanted island called "O'Brasil," and in Irish Beg-Ara, or the lesser Aran, set down in cards of navigation. Whether it be real and firm land, kept hidden by special ordinance of God as the terrestrial paradise, or else some illusion of airy clouds appearing on the surface of the sea, or the craft of evil spirits, is more than our judgements can sound out.'

The history of Connemara, so far as it can be said to have one, from the English conquest to the time of Cromwell, is in effect the family history of the clan of which the author of the ‘Chorographical Description’ was a representative. The ancient sept of the O’Flaherties, who had for centuries inhabited the plains of Magh Seola, now the barony of Clare, in the county of Galway, were driven to emigrate in the thirteenth century, as the result of collision with the Norman De Burgos, to the west of Lough Corrib, and established themselves for centuries as the untamed and almost unchallenged masters of Iar Connaught and Connemara. They speedily overthrew the aboriginal septs of MacConry and O’Heyny, who acquiesced with the best grace open to them in an overlordship which they had not strength to combat, and by which they were finally annihilated. Thenceforward the O’Flaherties cherished a fierce hatred of the Norman or English settlers, and the history of Galway is largely the story of the forays of the O’Flaherties. It is related of one of the sixteenth-century O’Flaherties that he was wont to climb to the top of the eminence of Bunowen, which dominates the peninsula that terminates in Slyne Head, and ‘declare war against all the potentates of the ‘world, but especially against that pitiful, pettyfogging town ‘of Galway ;’ while, on the other hand, the western gate of Galway city bore the legend—

‘From the fury of the O’Flaherties
Good Lord deliver us.’

The practically unchallenged predominance of the ‘ferocious ‘O’Flaherties’ over the whole territory of Iar-Connaught and Connemara lasted down to the later years of Elizabeth, and the authority of the O’Flaherty chieftains over their wild clansmen remained for fully three centuries as independent of external control as though no English Deputy had ever crossed the Channel. In 1538, indeed, the successful assertion of English authority in the West, which followed on the capture of the castle of Athlone by Lord Leonard Gray, the energetic lieutenant of Henry VIII., led for the first time to a temporary but very nominal submission of the Connaught chieftains to the English crown ; and among other acknowledgements received by the Deputy was that of Hugh O’Flaherty, then chief of his name. But the admission of dependence was withdrawn with the withdrawal of the force which had extorted it. In the generation immediately succeeding Hugh’s the celebrated Murrough of the Battle-

axes was strong enough to defeat any forces which the Crown could bring into the field against him. Thereupon Elizabeth, always willing to conciliate an opponent who was strong enough to defy her, was constrained to offer O'Flaherty a free pardon under the great seal ‘for all murders, homicides, ‘killings, etc., by him at any time heretofore committed,’ and to constitute the chieftain by letters patent Captain of Iar-Connaught, on his giving an empty promise to observe the Queen's peace. But this arrangement, which was entered into in 1569, did not prevent Murrough from joining with the Burkes and fighting against the Queen's forces in the following year, and the dubiousness of a loyalty which would have been withheld altogether but for the opposition of other members of his clan to Murrough's chieftainship is attested by no fewer than five successive general pardons from the Queen.

In 1585, however, Murrough O'Flaherty became the victim of the policy, successfully enforced by Sir John Perrott, of reducing the power of the great chieftains by an alteration in their status which substituted for the ancient attributes of Irish chieftainry the English relationship between sovereign and lord and the English tenure of property. Murrough became a party to the well-known instrument called the Composition of Connaught, and accepted the degree of knighthood. This submission did not betoken the final reduction of O'Flaherty's power, for in the following year he again raised the standard of rebellion, and thenceforward his boisterous proceedings are writ large in the annals of the Four Masters. But his conformity to English law and adoption of English customs effectually destroyed his authority with his own sept, and a few years later he was constrained to surrender to the Crown all his titles and possessions, and to ‘disclaim and ‘surrender for ever the name and title of chieftain, and the ‘name of O'Flahertie and all Irish customs to the same ‘name belonging,’ receiving in lieu thereof a free pardon and a grant of the lands to himself and his heirs.

Murrough of the Battle-axes survived by but a few years the extinction of his independent authority; but his successors in the seventeenth century continued the game of alternate insurrection and submission until the sons of Murrough na Maor (or the Steward), identifying themselves with the Rebellion of 1641, paid the penalty with their heads. With them perished the last semblance of the ancient greatness of the O'Flahertys of Iar-Connaught.

The territory was included among the districts to which Cromwell refused protection, and the whole of the 'ancient seigniory of the O'Flaherties' was parcelled out after the Restoration among a number of patentees, of whom Richard Martin, ancestor of the well-known Martins of Ballynahinch, obtained the lion's share of the partitioned inheritance. In the 'Ogygia' of our author Roderic O'Flaherty, who had enjoyed prior to these confiscations a substantial patrimony, we hear the pathetic wail of one of the despoiled inheritors of the once splendid possessions of the O'Flahertys :

'The Lord hath wonderfully recalled the royal heir to his kingdom, with the applause of all good men and without dust and blood; but me He hath not found worthy to be restored to the kingdom of my cottage. . . . I live a banished man within the bounds of my native soil; a spectator of others enriched by my birthright; an object of condoling to my relations and friends, and a condoler of their miseries.'

Needless to say, the rule of the O'Flaherties, with its almost continuous sequence of bickerings and ceaseless forayings of one chieftain against another, varied only by the temporary unity induced by the necessity of combining to resist external attack, was not favourable to the spread of the peaceful arts in Connemara. O'Flaherty, writing in 1684, speaks of the people as 'so observant of the law that now 'for above thirty years of peace there was not one body 'executed out of the whole territories for any aggression, 'and scarce any brought to the bar for misdemeanour.' But the peace that prevailed at the close of the seventeenth century was the peace of poverty and impotence, as may sufficiently appear from the following extract from 'A 'Journey to Connaught,' undertaken in 1709 by Thomas Molyneux, brother to the well-known William Molyneux, who thus details his impressions of Iar-Connaught :

'In my life I never saw so strangely stony and wild a country. I did not see all this way (in three hours' ride from Galway) three living creatures, not one house or ditch, not one bit of corn, not even a bit of land, for stones. In short, nothing appeared but stones and sea; nor could I conceive an inhabited county so destitute of all signs of people and art as this is. Yet here, I hear, live multitudes of barbarous, uncivilised Irish after their old fashions, who are here, one and all, in the defence of any of their own or even other rogues that fly to them, against the laws of Ireland. So that here is the asylum, here are committed the most barbarous murders after shipwrecks, and all manner of rouqueries protected, that the sheriff of this county scarce dare appear on the west side of Galway bridge, which, though Ireland is now generally esteemed wholly civilised, may well

be called the end of the English pale, which distinction should still have place as long as the inhabitants live with us in so open a state of nature.'

With the extinction of the O'Flaherties and the confiscation of their lands the history of Connemara as a semi-independent territory comes to an end. The descendants of the ancient owners faded, with scarcely an exception, into almost complete obscurity; while the MacConrys, O'Heynys, and other families sank into a poverty in which their origin was completely forgotten. Even their bards forgot to sing the ancient glories of their race; and while the peasantry by the winter firesides have handed down from generation to generation the rhymed fables of sprite and fairy and goblin, their verses seldom or never record the bold deeds of their forefathers, or perpetuate the memory of those

‘Old unhappy far-off things,
And battles long ago,’

which make up the vague record of the history of West Connaught.

Under its new lords Connemara soon settled down into a condition not essentially different, so far as regarded the mode of living of the majority of its inhabitants, from what had prevailed under the earlier owners of the confiscated territory. Nothing was done to improve the methods of cultivation or to raise the standard of comfort among the peasantry, nor was any attempt made to bring the district into closer touch with the rest of the country, by improving the means of communication with Galway. Possessed of estates which in their extent might almost be considered principalities, and far distant from the seat of government, the new owners of the soil were left to exercise an unrestricted authority over their dependants, and so to enjoy an absolute immunity from external interference; insomuch that one of the most powerful of them was able, as lately as the beginning of this century, to ‘thank God! the king’s ‘writ does not run in Connemara.’

Thus it comes about that of Connemara in the eighteenth century few accounts, if any, survive. The indefatigable traveller, Bishop Pocock, following St. Patrick’s example, was content to view its borders and pass by; while none of the remaining travellers who have left records of the journeys in Ireland at this period came near it at all. Nor is this surprising, for the country remained practically

inaccessible to ordinary travellers. Of roads fit for vehicles there were none, and down to the close of the century nothing had been done to provide them. Rough bridle-paths, in which the sure-footed Connemara ponies could alone be trusted to move securely, provided the only means of communication in this 'coarse, moorish, and mountainous' country, full of high rocky hills, large valleys, and great 'bogs.' Even as late as the present century it was possible for the celebrated Dick Martin to lower the pride of his sovereign in the Long Walk at Windsor by boasting of his Connemara 'avenue,' which was thirty miles in length. And the approach to Ballynahinch Castle was long the only civilised route through the bogs of Iar-Connaught; for it was not until the race of the Martins was nearly run that a serious attempt was made by the proprietor to provide direct and effective communication between Galway and Clifden. In the later twenties and early thirties a praiseworthy and successful endeavour to develop the country by means of new roads was made under the direction of the eminent engineer, Nimmo, to whose energy and philanthropic enthusiasm modern Connemara owes an abiding and inextinguishable debt. For it is with the building of these roads that the history of Connemara as a tourist-resort begins. In the years immediately following their construction the hitherto unknown and unvisited region was traversed independently by several writers, of whom Inglis, the author of 'Spain in 1830,' is perhaps the best known, who recorded their experiences in narratives which still retain their interest; while in 1838 the learned, ingenious, and facetious antiquary, Caesar Otway, embalmed in a volume, which from its humour and observation deserves the reputation it has long enjoyed, many of the fast perishing traditions of the country.

But to anyone who desires to realise the conditions of life in Connemara in the early part of the century, and to understand how primitive life could still be in this outlying corner of the three kingdoms, two pictures of the district may be confidently recommended. The first of these, the 'Letters from the Irish Highlands,' published in 1823, records the experiences and impressions of an amiable and accomplished proprietor in one of the most remote corners of the territory, who with his family had removed from his estate in a neighbouring county to settle among his wild and untutored dependants in Connemara. His estate had previously been in the hands of a middleman, who had held

for many years under a long lease, and who was reputed to derive from his management of the lands a profit rent of 1,500*l.* a year. Of the mode of living of this middleman, who was the person of by far the greatest means and consideration for many miles round, and whose authority as the only magistrate in the neighbourhood ‘received an additional sanction from the circumstance of his claiming ‘to be a lineal descendant from the old Kings of the West, ‘O’Flaherties of centuries long since gone by,’ the following description is given by his superior landlord :—

‘The big house, then, was a thatched cabin about sixty feet long by twenty wide, and to all appearance only one story high. It ostensibly contained an eating-parlour and sitting-room, about twenty feet long by sixteen or seventeen wide, from each of which opened two small bedrooms. We had oral evidence in the night that there was other accommodation in the thatch; but those who had the benefit of it were placed far beyond our ken. Conceive then our surprise at being gradually introduced to at least two dozen individuals, all parlour boarders. There was mine host—a venerable old man of eighty-six, his young and blooming wife, a daughter with her husband, three or four gay young ladies from Galway, two young gentlemen, two priests, and several others, evidently clansmen and relations. As they filed in we sat by, wondering whence they came, but when the adjournment to the dining-room took place it was evident, from the profusion of the board, that there would be no deficiency in their entertainment. Among a variety of curious articles on the table, we particularly noticed a fine dish of seakale—a delicacy which, at Christmas, you (in England) would, I fancy, have some difficulty in procuring without much adventitious aid. A room full of company, the fumes of a large dinner, and the warmth of a bright turf fire, rendered the heat almost insupportable; and during the feast, amid the clatter of knives and forks, and the mingled voices of our party, we were indulged *ad libitum* with the dulcet notes of the bagpipe, which continued its incessant drone until the ladies retired from the table. I need not expatiate on the wine and spirits, though both had probably been imported duty free many years before, and were certainly good enough to tempt the whole party to pay a sufficient devotion to the jolly god. It is but fair, however, to mention, in reply to certain scandalous reports that are abroad concerning us, that no one was compelled to drink more than he felt inclined.’

So much for a well-to-do Connemara ‘interior’ not long after the century opened. For a conception of the exterior aspect of the country, and the difficulties that beset travellers even as late as 1834, we will resort to the vivid pen of Miss Edgeworth. In that year the novelist journeyed as far as Ballynahinch, and the story of her adventures has been published in the ‘Life and Letters’ of the authoress,

edited a few years ago by Mr. Augustus Hare. Miss Edgeworth's account of her experiences is not only admirable as a memorial of those halcyon days of the epistolary art, when a narrative extending over forty pages of print could still take the form of a familiar letter, but is a delightful example of that combination of accurate observation with swiftness and lightness of touch which won for the authoress of 'Patronage' the unstinted and enthusiastic admiration of Scott. We cannot do better than find room for a few passages from Maria Edgeworth's description of her unavailing endeavour—accompanied by some English friends and travelling in all the luxury of a carriage and four—to reach Clifden from Maam, in the heart of Connemara, a distance of about eighteen miles.

'Mr. Nimmo's new road was not opened; and why, because it was not finished. Only a mile or so remained unfinished, and as that one mile of unmade unfinished road was impassable by man, boy, or Connemara pony, what availed the new road for heavy carriage and four horses? There was no possibility of going round, as I proposed; we must go by the old road, if road it could be called, all bog and bogholes, as our host explained to us. "It would be wonderful if we could ever get over it, for no carriage had ever passed, nor thought of attempting to pass, nothing but a common car these two years at least, except the Marquis of Anglesea and suite, and his Excellency was on horseback." The Scotchman could not describe exactly how many *bad steps* there were, but he forewarned us that they were bad enough, and as he sometimes changed the words *bad steps* into *sloughs* . . . the first bad step we came to was indeed a slough, but only a couple of yards wide across the road. The horses, the moment they set their feet upon it, sank up to their knees, and were whipped and spurred, and they struggled and floundered, and the carriage, as we inside passengers felt, sank and sank. The postillions leaped off, and, bridles in hand, gained the *shore*, and by dint of tugging, and whipping, and hallooing, and dragging of men and boys, we were got out and were on the other side.

'Farther on we might fare worse, from what we could learn, so in some commotion we got out and said we would rather walk. And when we came to the next bad step the horses, seeing it was a slough like the first, put back their ears and absolutely refused to set foot upon it, and they were, the postillions agreed, quite right; so they were taken off and left to look on, while by force of arms the carriage was to be got over by men and boys, who, shouting, gathered from all sides, from mountain paths down which they poured, and from fields where they had been at work or loitering; at the sight of the strangers they flocked to help—such a carriage had never been seen before—to help common cars or jaunting cars over these bad steps they had been used. "This heavy carriage! sure, it was impossible; but, sure, they might do it." And they talked and screamed

in English and Irish equally unintelligible to us, and in spite of all remonstrance about breaking the pole—pole and wheels and axle and body—they seized on the carriage, and, standing and jumping from stone to stone, or any tuft of bog that could bear them as their practised eyes saw, they—I cannot tell how—dragged, pushed, and screamed the carriage over. . . .

' So we walked on, while the horses were coming over I don't know how, and a tribe of wild Connemara boys followed us, all talking at once, and telling us there were twenty or thirty such bad steps, one worse than another, farther and farther on. Well, well, I will not weary your sympathy and patience eighteen times out with the history of the eighteen sloughs we went or were got through at the imminent peril of our lives. Why the carriage was not broken to pieces I cannot tell; but an excellent carriage it was, thank Heaven and the Builder, whoever he was.'

Maria Edgeworth's adventurous expedition terminated at Ballynahinch, where, according to the hospitable traditions which prevailed in Connemara down to the very dawn of the railway era, it was a thing of course that a distressed traveller should be made welcome at Ballynahinch Castle with as much cordiality as though she had been a lifelong friend. Her host on that occasion was the last representative of that powerful family which had succeeded to much of the prestige, as well as to most of the territory, of the ancient O'Flaherties. But in 1834 the Martins of Ballynahinch were already nearing that final stage in those chequered fortunes of which the story has been told in one of the most pathetic chapters of the 'Vicissitudes of Families,' when Nemesis, embodied in the gaunt spectre of the Irish famine, was to call upon the last and innocent heiress of Ballynahinch Castle to atone for the follies and extravagances of her magnificent but thriftless forefathers. To those who are familiar with the hapless story of the 'Prince of Connemara,' Miss Edgeworth's description of the young girl—who in 1834 was the heiress to close on two hundred thousand acres of land, but who, within fifteen years, was to be deprived of every rood of her splendid inheritance and driven to end her days in exile—will have a pathetic interest:—

' Miss Martin sat opposite to me, and with the light of branches of wax candles full upon her, I saw that she was very young, about seventeen, very fair, hair which might be called red by rivals and auburn by friends, her eyes blue-grey—prominent—like pictures I have seen by Leonardo da Vinci. . . . I found Mary one of the most extraordinary persons I ever saw. Her acquirements are, indeed, prodigious; she has more knowledge of books, both scientific and learned,

than any female creature I ever saw or heard of at her age—heraldry and metaphysics, painting and painters, lives and tactics; she had a course of fortification from a French officer, and of engineering from Mr. Nimmo. She understands Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and I don't know how many modern languages. French she speaks perfectly, learned from the French officer who taught her fortification. . . . She is full of her "tail" (dependants), her father's fifty-miles-long avenue, and Æschylus and Euripides, in which she is admirably read. Do think of a girl of seventeen, in the wilds of Connemara, intimately acquainted with all the beauties of Æschylus and Euripides, and having them as part of her daily thoughts.'

Having said so much regarding the history and traditions of Connemara, it is time to turn to a brief consideration of its actual condition and future possibilities, and to endeavour to indicate the nature both of the obstacles which, down to a very recent period, have retarded the development of the district, and the means which have of late been successfully taken to reduce the inequalities imposed by nature upon its inhabitants in the struggle for existence. Perhaps there is no more suggestive means of arriving at a just conception of the economic conditions in Connemara than by an examination and comparison of the very dissimilar publications which stand second and third in the list of authorities cited at the head of this article. It would be difficult indeed to find in the whole range of print two publications dealing largely with the same subject matter which differ more widely in their form and in their point of view than the 'Letters from the Irish Highlands' differs from the 'Reports of the Congested Districts Board'; yet we have placed them together because what seems to us most remarkable in a comparison between them is not their contrasts but their resemblances.

It is a far cry from 1823 to 1898, and never, probably, in the history of the United Kingdom has any period of equal length been marked by a change at all commensurate in importance with the transformation which has been wrought in the texture of our civilisation—social, political, and economic—in the last seventy-five years. But it has been otherwise in Connemara, and what cannot fail to strike any reader who compares the familiar and informal letters written by the family of a thoughtful and cultivated land-owner three-quarters of a century ago with the formal, deliberate, and official reports of a Government department, is the practical identity of the problems which, despite the interval between them, occupy equally the pages of both.

These 'Letters from the Irish Highlands' offer a picture

lively, sympathetic, and faithful, of the conditions of life in Connemara as they appeared more than two generations ago to an interested and intelligent observer. In externals, indeed, and from the point of view of property, the change since they were written has been vast. In 1823 Catholic emancipation was still a moot question, and the old and almost feudal relationship between landlord and tenant still subsisted unimpaired. Parliament was still unreformed, and democracy yet undreamt of, while property in land was held to be 'as safe as the Church' appeared to be in days when Disestablishment spelt sacrilege. Yet while the social relations of the upper and lower classes have undergone an immeasurable alteration, the advantages and drawbacks of which need not now be debated, the conditions of life among the people remain almost unaltered. The problems which engaged the benevolent attention of a well-meaning landowner anxiously desirous to discharge the duties of property are essentially the same as those to which the organised system of public philanthropy superintended by the Congested Districts Board has been devoted assiduously for the last eight years. Chronic poverty and recurring famine, over-population insufficiently relieved by the natural expedient of emigration, or by the involuntary waste from the insanitary surroundings and interior of the peasant's home, the absence of all industries save the industry of agriculture, and the ignorance of the conditions essential to the successful pursuit of that sole means of livelihood—these are the objects of solicitude alike to the individual philanthropist at the beginning of the century and to the statesman at the end of it.

And from 1823 to 1898 the story has been continuously the same. If the country has produced little else, it has produced an abundant literature of distress. The publication of the 'Letters from the Irish Highlands' was occasioned by the sympathetic interest roused in England by the famine of 1822, and every successive failure of the potato crop has been followed by a crop of pamphlets and reports in which theorists have speculated and professors have dogmatised on the means of economic salvation. But for more than half a century neither theories nor dogmas had availed to provide a remedy for what appeared to be an ineradicable disease. All sorts of projects for the reclamation of the bogs and the extraction from beneath the soil of the mineral resources, with which not a few sanguine scientists credited the country, were

continually announced and attempted, but as continually failed to work any appreciable change ; and it remained for the statesmanship of the closing decade of the century to discover that the true sources of the poverty of Connemara were to be found in the ignorance which prevented the population from improving their surroundings, and the imperfection of the means of communication with the rest of the island, which debarred them from the possibility of learning how to repair their deficiencies. It is true that a few years after the publication of the 'Letters from the Irish Highlands' some of the old proprietors gave evidence of their appreciation of these fundamental requirements of the district in which their lot was cast, and that, aided by some skilful scientific advice, a serious endeavour was made to provide good and sufficient roads, and to encourage new industries. Connemara is still indebted to the ability of Nimmo, the engineer, and to the public spirit of the great landowning families of the Martins and the D'Arcys, under whose auspices Nimmo's work was performed. The successful industry of kelp-burning, the admirable road from Oughterard to the extreme western coast, the town of Clifden, and the two considerable villages of Roundstone and Letterfrack, remain to attest the enterprise, knowledge, and public spirit which were devoted in the early thirties to the attempt to find the means of combating the standing poverty of Connemara.

The energy of these pioneers deserved a success which it would have achieved but for a factor which they could hardly be blamed for leaving out of account. It was the misfortune of Connemara that the introduction of sufficient and effective roads took place precisely at the moment when roads were about to be superseded as the primary means of communication between one part of the country and another. And thus, after remaining outside the pale of effective civilisation for a full century after the rest of Ireland had been almost everywhere traversed by roads adequate to its requirements, this western district was condemned by the introduction of railways to lag for another half-century behind the rest of the country in the means essential to its prosperity. For more than forty years were suffered to elapse from the opening of the Midland Great Western Railway's trunk line from Dublin to Galway ere the extension of that system through Connemara was undertaken, and even then it was only carried out at the instance of the Irish Government, and by means of a free grant from the State in aid of the construction of the line. The directors of the railway could not

feel warranted in an addition to their responsibilities which, whatever the likelihood of the traffic supplying a profit on the working expenses, could not possibly be expected to pay interest on the large capital required to construct it. And thus it was left to the comprehensive statesmanship of Mr. Arthur Balfour to bestow upon Connemara the first essential to any permanent advance in its prosperity, by bringing the severed province within the ambit of nineteenth-century civilisation.

The second essential to the prosperity of Connemara has been supplied by the legislation initiated concurrently with the introduction of the railway, which has provided in the establishment of the Congested Districts Board an instrument for the development of its resources and the improvement of its people which has already wrought a striking and a salutary change in the conditions of life in West Connaught. After relying for half a century on the vain expectation that private enterprise would prove powerful enough to work out unaided a remedy for the standing evils of poverty, ignorance, and thriftlessness in a country so scantily endowed by nature that the utmost industry of the peasant could do no more than 'force a churlish soil for 'scanty bread,' Parliament at length recognised the necessity of treating the more barren and unprofitable districts of Ireland in the same fashion as though they formed part of distant and undeveloped colonies which could only be made productive by the direct intervention of the State. The policy was one diametrically opposed to long accepted principles, and it is to be feared that very much of the practice of the Congested Districts Board is as much in conflict with the orthodox political economy of a quarter of a century ago as the fundamental principle on which it is based. But facts are stronger than theories, and the beneficent results of the Board's operations as seen in Connemara should more than satisfy the scruples of the most rigid economist. Parliament wisely determined to give the Board wide powers and a free hand, and happily its members have utilised these advantages in a like spirit. The powers conferred upon it authorise the Board to take such steps as it thinks proper for the improvement of the districts confided to its operations in respect of such matters as agricultural development, forestry, the breeding of live stock and poultry, the sale of seed potatoes and seed oats, the amalgamation of small holdings, migration, emigration, fishing, weaving and spinning, and other industries suited to

the people. And since the establishment of the Board in 1891 these powers have been increased by enabling it to hold land and to purchase estates in connexion with migration schemes or to facilitate the enlargement of holdings. It would be an easy matter to criticise the manner in which the Board has administered its powers, and we are far from approving all its acts. It has made mistakes, some of them considerable; and in some departments, notably its forestry schemes, the expenditure it has sanctioned has been out of all proportion to the actual or prospective benefit. But in the main it has carried out, and is carrying out, the intentions of Parliament, and effectually accomplishing the beneficent designs of those by whom it was instituted. In the departments of agriculture and the breeding of live stock, and in the fishing industry in particular, immense improvements have been effected, and the wealth-producing capacities of the districts enormously stimulated by the introduction of improved methods of cultivation and the provision of appliances necessary to the successful prosecution of the sea fisheries of the west coast.

In this development Connemara has participated, and it has derived a full share of the benefits conferred by the Board. For practically the whole of Connemara, in the wide sense in which we have used the term, is a congested district within the meaning of the Act under which the Board is constituted—viz. in the words of the legislative definition it contains a population dwelling in electoral divisions of which the total rateable value at the date of the passing of the Congested Boards Act, when divided by the number of the inhabitants, gave a sum of less than thirty shillings for each individual. Perhaps the department of the Board's operations which is likely to exert the most beneficial effect in Connemara is that which is concerned in the development of the deep-sea fisheries. The fishing industry is one for which this district has unique natural advantages, but it is one for which it must be confessed that the inhabitants long exhibited only the slenderest aptitude. Though in close proximity to the finest fishing grounds, the people long confined themselves to the inferior fishing to be had close to the shore, leaving it to the enterprise of fishermen from other parts of the kingdom to appropriate the rich products of the adjacent deep-sea fishing grounds. This curious indifference or distaste exhibited by the dwellers on the Irish coast to the possibilities of wealth which they possess in their

fisheries has always been a characteristic of the population, and one which is the more remarkable because, although the wretchedness of the land along a great part of the west coast has always obliged the people to find in the sea no small part of the means of living, the resort to fishing as a necessity of life has never led to the establishment of the industry as a commerce. The effects, if not the causes, of this inaptitude for a seafaring life, which has often been noticed by observers, have never been more tersely expressed than in the '*Description of Ireland*' by Fynes Moryson.

'Ireland,' wrote the old historian close on three centuries ago, 'hath in all parts pleasant rivers, safe and long havens, and no less frequent lakes of great circuit, yielding great plenty of fish; and the sea on all sides yields like plenty of excellent fish, as salmons, oysters (which are preferred before the English), and shellfish, with all other kinds of sea fish, so as the Irish might in all parts have abundance of excellent sea and fresh-water fish, if the fishermen were not so possessed with the natural fault of slothfulness, as no hope of gain, scarcely the fear of authority, can in many places make them come out of their houses and put to sea. Hence it is that in many places they use Scots for fishermen, and they, together with the English, make profit of the inhabitants' sluggishness, and no doubt if the Irish were industrious in fishing they might export salted and dried fish with great gain.'

To the Congested Districts Board belongs the credit of having discovered the true causes of this lack of enterprise, and of having provided the remedy. The people have been aided in procuring boats suited to the deep-sea fisheries; instruction has been given them in net-mending and other accessories of the fishing industry; curing-stations have been established along the coast; and, above all, effective arrangements have been made for bringing the fish quickly to market. By these means the fishing population of Connemara and the whole of the west coast of Ireland is now in the full enjoyment of the benefits which Nature placed at their doors, and the whole Connemara seaboard is now the scene of a thriving fishing industry, which is adding many thousands per annum to the wealth of its people.

It would of course be an exaggeration to anticipate that the advance in the scale of civilisation and in the sources of well-being can ever transform Connemara from its natural poverty to a garden of fruitfulness and prosperity. The most beneficent legislation and the most sympathetic and paternal administration cannot reasonably be expected to eradicate inequalities inexorably imposed by Nature, or to do more than mitigate the conditions under which the

population combats the asperities of its surroundings. It is true, indeed, that the fairy tales of science tell us of transformations as startlingly marvellous as ever were imputed to the wand of the magician, and he would be a bold prophet who would set bounds to the miracles which the twentieth century may have in store for the wastes and wilds of the world. But, for the present, progress in Connemara must be expected to move along the paths through which our nineteenth-century civilisation has paved the road to prosperity; and it may be doubted whether the lap of the future holds any richer gift than those which the last few years have bestowed on Connemara in bringing its long desolate solitudes within reach of the crowded centres of English wealth. For the introduction of the railway has changed the outlook of its people from the setting to the rising sun. It is no longer through the dreary sea-mists of the wild Atlantic seaboard that the western cottier strains his eyes to catch the vision of the 'terrestrial paradise,' the enchanted island of O'Brasil described by old O'Flaherty, whose imaginary rocks 'appeared to be a great "city far off, full of houses, castles, towers, and chimneys; sometimes full of blazing flames, smoke, and people running to and fro.' The railway, which has brought the remotest west of Ireland within twelve hours' reach of England and eighteen of London, has taught its people to look eastward for the sources of wealth and the means of bettering their lot. And with the railway has come a long-desired and much needed change in the standard of the hotels and inns throughout the district, which is fast assimilating the conditions of touring in the west of Ireland to those which the traveller is nowadays accustomed to demand and entitled to expect. Connemara has thus begun to share in the benefits of the unconscious process by which the lonely and impoverished places of the world are peopled with the toilers from its crowded hives, who scatter no inconsiderable portion of the rewards of industry in the search for the health and recreation needful to enable them to maintain their places in the race for wealth. It is this way that prosperity lies for Connemara.

ART. XI—1. *History of St. Vincent de Paul, Founder of the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians) and of the Sisters of Charity.* By Monseigneur BOUGAUD, Bishop of Laval. Translated from the second French edition by the Rev. Joseph Brady, C.M., with an introduction by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. 2 vols. London : 1899.

2. *Saint Vincent de Paul.* By Prince EMMANUEL DE BROGLIE. Translated by Mildred Partridge, with a preface by George Tyrrell, S.J. London : 1898.
3. *Vie de Saint Vincent de Paul, Fondateur des Prêtres de la Mission et des Filles de la Charité.* Nouvelle édition, revue par un Prêtre de la Mission. 2 vols. Paris : 1881.

AFTER Vincent de Paul had died, in the Priory of St. Lazare, on September 27, 1660, Father Almeras, the priest whom he had appointed to succeed him as Superior General of the Mission, immediately took steps to collect materials for a memoir of his revered predecessor. Indeed, for three years previously, from 1657, Frère Ducourneau, the founder's secretary, had conceived the project of recording his master's actions and sayings, and no better witness could possibly have been selected for the task than this faithful servant, who, during the last years of the saint's lifetime, had scarcely ever quitted his side, accompanying him by day in his busy work and visitations about the streets of Paris, or travels in the provinces ; while, late in the night, he had also been accustomed to write up the Superior's correspondence from dictation. We can only regret that these invaluable services of Ducourneau had not been brought into requisition at an earlier date. In pursuance, however, of his plan, Father Almeras proposed as the subject for discussion at the Tuesday conferences at St. Lazare, for several succeeding months, the life and works of Vincent de Paul. At these meetings, as might have been expected, the secretary Ducourneau was always the principal speaker, relating numerous incidents, anecdotes and maxims of his late master, as they recurred to his memory, and these were all carefully written down and utilised in the preparation of the memoir.

Then, again, some of the Sisters of Charity had also taken great pains to commit to writing notes of what their founder had impressed upon them at their weekly conferences during his lifetime. The whole of these materials, together with

selections from Vincent's letters, were put together by the missionaries under the superintendence of Frère Fournier, specially deputed for this purpose by Almeras." Nevertheless, on the completion of the memoir thus compiled, it became necessary to obtain the good services of some one outside the Congregation of the Mission to enable the MS. to be printed, for it had ever been imposed on the members that none of them should ever publish any book whatsoever; and so it came to pass that Louis Abelly, Bishop of Rodez, who had himself been an intimate friend of Vincent de Paul, consented to lend his name as the responsible author of the book, which was printed in 1664, under the title 'La Vie du Vénérable Serviteur de Dieu, Vincent de Paul.' It is therefore to be borne in mind that this work, although generally attributed to Abelly, was in fact a compilation by the Lazarist Priests of the Mission, and it will always remain as the great original work of reference on Vincent de Paul.

It was not until long after Abelly's death, in fact not until eleven years after the 'Blessed' Vincent de Paul had been promoted to the catalogue of saints, by Pope Clement XII., that another original Life of St. Vincent was printed at Nancy in 1748. This work was by Pierre Collet, a professed theologian, the Superior of the Collège des Bons-Enfants, who had for years devoted himself to searching out details concerning the career of the saint.

The fame of St. Vincent appears to have been resuscitated from the temporary oblivion into which it had fallen by the famous panegyric pronounced by the Abbé Maury in a sermon which he preached at St. Lazare in 1785, and since that date the bibliography relating to Vincent de Paul and his institutions has become extensive; but all the memoirs of him have been based on the original works of Abelly and Collet, while the conferences and voluminous correspondence of the saint preserved in the archives of the Lazarists have likewise been published *in extenso*.

The well-known biography of St. Vincent, written by the Abbé Maynard, Canon of Poitiers, attracted much attention when it appeared in 1860, but nearly forty years have since elapsed, and at present the most popular of recent memoirs of the saint in France is the posthumous work of Monseigneur Bougaud, who died in 1888, which has now been presented to us in an English dress by Father Brady, of the Congregation of the Mission.

It was during the reign of Henri III., while Elizabeth was Queen of England, that Vincent de Paul, or Depaul, as he

himself was wont to sign his name, was born on April 24, 1576, in a farm called Ranguine, in the parish of Pouy, near Dax. His early childhood was occupied in looking after his father's sheep, yet even at this period of his life, although 'nourri par la pauvreté qu'il devait nourrir à son tour,' he is said to have been noticed in the vicinity for his charitable tendencies, striking examples of which the hagiographers do not fail to bring to our notice. His father, remarking his gentle disposition, placed the boy at school with the Cordeliers of Dax, by whom, for sixty livres per annum—equivalent to about six guineas of our money—he was brought up piously and taught the rudiments of a sound education. So much benefit did he derive from the instruction of these Franciscans that after some four years, in order to lighten the charges on his father, the lad, while continuing his own studies, was able to undertake the tuition of the children of M. de Commet, a lawyer at Dax. Later, on receiving minor orders, he proceeded to Toulouse and became director of a school for the sons of gentlemen in the neighbouring town of Buzet. In 1600 he was ordained priest, and took his degree of Bachelor in theology in 1604, when he was twenty-eight years of age.

In the following year Vincent underwent a remarkable experience which affected his whole subsequent career. This dangerous and painful adventure is related at length by himself in a letter to M. de Commet, which is still extant, and tells us how, having embarked at Marseilles in order to go to Narbonne, he was captured by Turks, whose vessels were cruising in the Gulf of Lions, and carried off to Tunis and subjected to all sorts of brutalities. Here Vincent de Paul underwent considerable suffering while serving as a slave under various masters until at last he managed to effect his escape by the help of a renegade Savoyard, reaching France in 1607. Soon afterwards, M. Vincent accompanied the vice-legate Montorio—when notice had been attracted to the young priest by the fame of his adventures in Tunis—to Rome, where he made the acquaintance of Cardinal du Perron, who at that time was carrying out important negotiations with Pope Paul V. for Henri IV. Du Perron, taking Vincent de Paul into his confidence, entrusted him with a secret verbal mission for King Henri, who treated the reverend diplomate with much cordiality on his arrival at the French Court. The successful issue of this diplomatic mission might have brought instant preferment in the Church to M. Vineent, had he chosen to accept such high reward,

but life at Court was distasteful to the single-hearted priest, who at the earliest opportunity retired to an obscure corner of Paris, in the neighbourhood of the Hôpital de la Charité, where he devoted himself to the service of the sick and dying. It was at this time that he met de Bérulle, the founder of the Oratory, and placed himself under the spiritual guidance of this pious man, whom François de Sales himself had declared to be ‘un des esprits les plus clairs et les plus nets qui se soient jamais rencontrés.’

A month after the assassination of Henri IV., Vincent was appointed to the Abbey of St. Léonard de Chaume and almoner to Queen Marguerite de Valois, whose life exhibits that strange compound of licentiousness and superstitious devotion not wholly unusual in those days; but the gay surroundings of the royal palace in the Rue de la Seine soon disgusted him, and as he had escaped from the Court of Henri IV., so he now quickly quitted the Court of that sovereign’s divorced widow. His intention was, as he himself afterwards declared :—

‘seulement d'échapper au monde, à ses honneurs et à ses périls ; d'attendre dans la solitude la manifestation des volontés du ciel ; de nourrir son esprit de science dans de laborieux loisirs, et son cœur de piété dans la compagnie de saints prêtres, et surtout de se mettre tout entier et à tout instant sous la conduite d'un directeur, de lui ouvrir son âme dans son passé, son présent, ses vues d'avenir, et d'abandonner à la décision de Bérulle l'arrangement de sa vie.’

In 1612, when François Bourgoing resigned his charge of the parish of Clichy, in order to enter the Oratory, at the instance of Bérulle, Vincent accepted the vacant living, where he was not long in winning the hearts of all his parishioners, and here he first started a charitable establishment. He took into his house twelve poor boys who seemed to him to show an aptitude for clerical life, and undertook their education and maintenance; but Vincent's stay here was but short. Within a year's time his spiritual director summoned him back to Paris, in great sadness at leaving his flock, and he found himself installed on the recommendation of M. de Bérulle, as tutor to the children* of Philippe Emmanuel de Gondi, Comte de Joigny, General of the galleyes, in whose family he remained for some four years, with a professor under him to undertake the details of the education which he was to supervise, being thus assured

* The three sons of the Comte de Joigny were: Pierre de Gondi, the Duc de Retz; Henri de Gondi, who died young; François Paul de Gondi, afterwards Cardinal de Retz.

some hours of independent leisure; for it was intended that Vincent de Paul should watch over the moral and religious education of the children entrusted to his charge.

Entirely absorbed as she was in the duties of a Christian lady of high standing, Mme. de Gondi during her few years of life was always ready to help, propagate, and increase the innumerable works of charity which sprang up in such unparalleled abundance during the first fifty years of the century, and gave to the Church in France fresh vigour. Probably this was the secret reason which guided M. de Bérulle in his authoritative sending of Vincent de Paul to the Gondis; he saw that Vincent left to himself would not be able to do very much, but that when helped and supported he was capable of performing miracles. He was destined to find this help and support in Mme. de Gondi.'

The following incident serves to show the respect in which the family of de Gondi held Vincent de Paul. But shortly after he had entered on his duties as tutor, the General having received an insult from one of the gentlemen at the Court challenged him; but before the duel he entered the chapel to hear Mass, and to implore divine assistance. Vincent, who celebrated the Mass, and who had been warned beforehand of the approaching duel, offered up a prayer that the duel might be averted.

After the service, as soon as he found himself alone with the General, he threw himself at his feet:

'Souffrez, monseigneur,' he said, 'que je vous dise un mot en toute humilité. Je sais de bonne part que vous avez le dessein de vous aller battre en duel, mais je vous déclare de la part de mon Sauveur, que je viens de vous montrer et que vous venez d'adorer, que si vous ne quittez ce mauvais dessein il exercera sa justice sur vous et sur toute votre postérité.'

The General of the galley, whose personal courage was far above suspicion, was so struck and remorseful at the inspired words of the priest that he in his turn fell on his knees and assured Vincent that he would leave to God the vengeance on his adversary. It can be imagined how devotedly Mme. de Gondi esteemed the tutor of her children ever afterwards. She begged M. de Bérulle to allow her to take Vincent as her spiritual director, and under his inspiration she increased her charities, visited the sick and poor of her estates, and consoled the widows and orphans.

Meantime the veneration in which he was held by the de Gondi family commenced to alarm the humility of Vincent de Paul. He was treated as a saint, he who looked

upon himself as but a poor ‘misérable.’ Mme. de Gondi did nothing without consulting him, and latterly went nowhere without having him by her side. He was forced at length to recommend her to go to another confessor, and finally he made up his mind that the best service he could render her was to leave the house of the Gondis.

His own director Bérulle approved, and as it happened that the Canons of Lyons had just asked him for a priest to fill the vacant cure of Châtillon-lez-Dombes, in Bresse, he at once persuaded Vincent to accept the post.

On arriving in his parish, he found the priest’s house in ruins, the church unfrequented, and a population of which half had become Calvinists. He immediately set to work with his accustomed vigour, re-established the religious services, catechisms, and instructions; while he soon had the satisfaction to find that his sermons were efficacious in refilling the church and his services attended by heretics ‘as well as Catholics. It was here that, in 1617, he established ‘the first of his famous societies of Charity, which afterwards increased and became spread so widely not only in France but throughout the world.

‘In fact, one day, just as M. Vincent was going to say Mass, Mme. de la Chassaigne begged him to recommend to the charity of the public a poor family, of which all the members were ill and in the most frightful distress. He acceded to her request, and was so successful in moving his audience, which, be it observed, was almost entirely composed of peasants—a class not as a rule easily touched—that when he went himself to visit the poor family in question, he found the cottage filled with provisions of every kind—nay, stocked to overflowing.

‘All the way along he had met, without knowing whence it came, a crowd of people, who saluted him with an air of emotion, but without speaking to him. Though filled with joy at this charity, which went straight to his heart, Vincent could not help saying to himself: “There is a great deal of charity, but it is ill-regulated. Those poor sick people, being provided with too many provisions at once, will let some get spoilt and wasted, and then they will relapse into their first state of destitution.” And passing at once from the perception of the evil to the means of remedying it, he sent for Mme. de Chassaigne and Mme. de Brie, explained to them with his usual clearness the drawbacks of these ill-apportioned alms, and begged them to get together a few good people who would be inclined to help him to improve matters.

“I suggested to them,” he said himself, later on, in one of his conferences, “to club together in order that each lady in turn should provide a day’s food, not only for the sick above mentioned, but also for those who might be ill in future. That is,” he added, “how

la Charité was established." Vincent's two helpers had soon discovered fellow-workers, and for three months the ladies of the parish, the first *Dames de Charité*, laboured under the eyes of their curé for the relief of the poor. When he saw that he could reckon on their devotion, he wished to try their perseverance, and drew up the first set of rules for the confraternities of *la Charité*, which were afterwards reproduced and modified according as necessity required.'

Thus was established the first 'Confrérie des Servantes 'et des Gardes des Pauvres' or 'Charité de Châtillon,' and this institution, which at first appeared applicable only to a small provincial town, was soon imitated in the neighbourhood at Bourg, and later, through the exertions of Mme. de Gondi, when she had been rejoined by her former director, at Villepreux, at Joigny, at Montmirail, and in almost all the parishes within the influence of the de Gondi family.

The Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Amiens approved of these charities and of M. Vincent's regulations for them within their respective dioceses in 1618 and in 1620, and by 1629 they were established in the parish of St. Sauveur in Paris, where the hotel of the Gondi family stood.

So long as the sisterhoods were confined to country villages they were generally composed of women who were accustomed to all kinds of work and personally attended the sick and poor; but when these associations were formed in the large provincial towns and in Paris, they were composed of ladies of rank and quality, partly because it became the fashion with many, and partly from purer motives with the few. Anyhow, after a time, it was found that these fashionable dames were willing enough to contribute money but unable to give their personal services. In some cases their husbands forbade their wives to visit the sick for fear of contagion—for the plague was then present in many towns—in others the ladies brought up delicately in horror of sickness and death dreaded exposing themselves to the risks incurred by visiting the filthy quarters of the towns.

At first they contented themselves by sending their servants, but this involved risk of contamination, and these charitable associations were likely to be dissolved and disappear when it occurred to Vincent that the services of women of the lower classes might be utilised. We shall presently show how valuable these auxiliary nurses became when properly organised under the practical rules laid down for them by Vincent de Paul.

During the short time that Vincent de Paul remained at Châtillon, Mme. de Gondi had not ceased to use her endeavours to obtain his recall to Paris. She obtained letters from M. de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, Bishop of Paris, Père Bérulle, while she made her children write and wrote herself. Finally she despatched an envoy in the person of M. du Fresne, who had formally introduced Vincent to Queen Marguerite, and who subsequently, at the instance of Vincent himself, had become secretary to the Gondis. The curé of Châtillon was overcome by their entreaties, but submitted his case in all humility, to be decided by the Superior of the Oratory at Lyons, who, without hesitation, said to him: ‘Retournez à Paris, et là, s'il reste encore quelque ‘difficulté, elle s'évanouira devant les conseils d'amis sages ‘qui vous feront connaître certainement la volonté de Dieu.’ Vincent promised obedience, and immediately wrote to the General of the galleys to announce his intended return to Paris, while he prepared his flock at Châtillon for his departure.

Another field was now opened to his indefatigable spirit of charity. The General of the galleys had under his jurisdiction not only the galley slaves on the benches of the ships at Marseilles, but also the convicts awaiting in the Conciergerie and other prisons of the metropolis their punishment afloat. Vincent obtained permission to visit these prisoners in their cells. What he saw there far surpassed all his preconceived ideas. Well accustomed as he had long been to all sorts of hideous kinds of human misery in the hospitals, yet in these deep, dark, and infected underground dungeons he was greatly taken aback at finding crouched on the floor crowds of unfortunate wretches half dying of hunger, covered with sores and vermin, weighed down by their fetters and chained to the walls, abandoned by God and man, without human or spiritual consolation. At the sight his benevolent heart, far from recoiling with horror, opened with an immense pity towards these his fellow-creatures, and his tears flowed without restraint.

On leaving the convict prison of the Conciergerie, Vincent de Paul at once addressed the General of the galleys, over whom he already exercised such potent influence:—

‘Monseigneur,’ he said, ‘je viens de visiter les forçats, et je les ai trouvés négligés dans leur corps et dans leur âme. Ces pauvres gens vous appartiennent, et vous en répondrez devant Dieu. En attendant qu'ils soient conduits au lieu de leur supplice, il est de votre charité de ne pas souffrir qu'ils demeurent sans secours et sans consolation.’

The General immediately gave full powers to Vincent, who proceeded to organise a hospital for convicts in the Faubourg St. Honoré, where, after doing all that could be done for their bodily ailments, he laboured to soften the hearts of these unfortunate beings. He visited them every day, always talking to them with affability and kindness, and personally ministering to their needs.

Emmanuel de Gondi did not fail to inform his sovereign Louis XIII. of the success that attended the efforts of Vincent to alleviate the sufferings of the convicts in Paris, and obtained from him a brevet investing that humble priest with the charge of Royal Almoner of all the galleys in France, with an annual revenue of six hundred livres, and granting him all the honours to which officers of the marine were entitled.

It was soon after his appointment as Almoner, while residing with the de Gondis, that Vincent de Paul first met (in 1619) François de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, who had accompanied the Cardinal de Savoie to Paris. These two men, as might have been expected, became firmly attached to one another :—

' Pour Vincent, la douceur, la modestie, la majesté de François de Sales lui retrachaient une vive image de Jésus-Christ conversant parmi les hommes ; et François de Sales publiait à son tour qu'il n'avait pas connu de plus digne, de plus saint prêtre que M. Vincent. Il s'établit entre eux une aimable familiarité. C'était à Vincent que François aimait à ouvrir son âme, et il lui racontait ses démarches, ses succès et aussi les saintes ruses de son humilité.'

Yet, as M. Henri Martin remarks, the contrast between the two characters was most marked :

' Le théoricien mystique, saint François de Sales, était sorti des hautes classes de la société ; l'homme d'action, l'organisateur, Vincent de Paul, sortit du peuple.'

In this same year (1619), at the instigation of François de Sales, Mme. de Chantal and some of her sisterhood established the community of ' Les Filles de la Visitation ' de Sainte Marie,' first in the Faubourg St. Michel, of which Vincent was chosen by François to be the Superior. The monasteries of this order soon multiplied in Paris, and all were placed under the direction of Vincent de Paul.

After the death of François de Sales the religieuses of the Visitation, knowing the high reputation in which Vincent de Paul was held at Rome, implored him to join his supplications to those of a large number of influential ecclesiastics to obtain the canonisation of François de Sales,

which was not carried out, however, until 1665 by Alexander VII.

It is impossible here to enumerate a tithe of the services which Vincent de Paul rendered to the numerous other female* communities and sisterhoods which were now established in Paris and spread throughout the provinces; we must confine our record to the more famous of the institutions which have rendered his name imperishable in France.

Mme. de Gondi had been so deeply impressed by the results attained by Vincent's preaching at the villages on the different estates belonging to the de Gondis, where confraternities of charity had been established, in imitation of that at Châtillon-les-Dombes, that in 1624 she conceived the idea of founding a special house for missionaries, under the direction of M. Vincent, and independent of other religious orders. As he was in relation with a large number of secular priests who had co-operated with him in his missions in the country districts, she thought that it would not be difficult for him to form with them a community. The General of the galleys approved of her project and asked his wife to share with him the title of founder of this new order. His brother, Jean François de Gondi, Archbishop of Paris, at once appreciated all the good which would result in his diocese from such an establishment, and willingly gave his sanction to the work. He did more. He offered to give up the Collège des Bons-Enfants, which had just become vacant, for the headquarters of the missionaries, and nominated as its head M. Vincent, who was duly licensed to take possession of the building. Such was the origin of the Congregation of the Mission, whose object, as shown by the regulations of the order,† drawn up doubtless by M. Vincent himself, was to come to the help of

'le pauvre peuple de la campagne qui seul demeure comme abandonné; à quoi il leur aurait semblé qu'on pourrait aucunement

* 'La Madeleine,' a penitentiary for fallen women, endowed by Robert de Montry and Charlotte Marguerite de Gondi. 'Les Filles de la Providence,' founded by Mme. Pollalion. 'Les Filles Orphélines,' established in a house opened by Mlle. de Lestang. 'Les Filles de Sainte Geneviève,' under Mlle. de Blosset. 'Les Filles de la Croix,' first started in Picardy as a teaching institution, and subsequently established in Paris by Mme. de Villeneuve. 'La Congrégation de la Charité de Notre Dame.'

† 'Contrat de fondation' (1625), Abelly. The original of this contract is in the Archives of State, M, 167. *Vide* Maynard, vol. i. p. 200.

remédier par la pieuse association de quelques prêtres de doctrine, piété et capacité connues, qui voulussent bien renoncer tant aux conditions des dites villes qu'à tous bénéfices, charges et dignités de l'Eglise, pour, sous le bon plaisir des prélat's, chacun en l'étendue de son diocèse, s'appliquer entièrement et purement au salut du pauvre peuple, allant de village en village, aux dépens de la bourse commune, prêcher, instruire, exhorter et catéchiser ces pauvres gens, les porter à faire tous une bonne confession générale de toute leur vie passée, sans en prendre aucune rétribution, en quelque sorte ou manière que ce soit, afin de distribuer gratuitement les dons qu'ils auront gratuitement reçus de la main libérale de Dieu. . . .

'Que les dits ecclésiastiques vivront en commun sous l'obéissance du dit sieur de Paul en la manière sus dite, et de leurs supérieurs à l'avenir après son décès, sous le nom de compagnie, congrégation ou confrérie des pères ou prêtres de la mission. . . .'

The General and Mme. de Gondi handed over to Vincent de Paul the sum of 45,000 livres, the interest of which was to be devoted to the maintenance of six priests in the College, who were to be chosen by its head. Mme. de Gondi, however, who had not forgotten how Vincent had left her house and without warning had betaken himself to Châtillon, took care to have a special clause inserted in the terms of the contract to the following effect:—

'Nonobstant laquelle direction toutefois, les dits seigneur et dame entendent que le dit sieur de Paul fasse sa résidence continue et actuelle en leur maison pour continuer à eux et à leur famille l'assistance spirituelle qu'il leur a rendue depuis longues années. . . .'

That pious and most charming lady, Mme. de Gondi—'l'incomparable Françoise de Silly,' as Corbinelli, the historian of the house of Gondi, styles her—after but a short illness, caused, it is said, by fatigue brought on by excessive zeal in working among the poor, died in Paris on June 22, 1625, at the age of forty-two years, while her husband was absent at Marseilles, where he was then deeply engaged in a fierce dispute with the Governor of Toulon, in the midst of which Vincent de Paul arrived in order to announce to the General the affliction news that Mme. de Gondi was no more. By her will, Mme. de Gondi had bequeathed a legacy to Vincent, accompanied by a request that he would never leave the family of the General; and the broken-hearted M. de Gondi implored his almoner to remain with himself and his children. But this was not to be. The widowed General threw up all his appointments, honours, and titles, and having placed all his affairs in order and arranged for the education of his children, he resigned his position as head

of the family to his eldest son, and entered the Oratory. At the same time Vincent retired to his Collège des Bons-Enfants. At last, without ties of any description, he was now at perfect liberty to devote himself entirely to good works, and to the perfection of the great charitable institutions whose organisation he had so long pondered over.

About this time Vincent de Paul found a most valuable auxiliary in the person of Louise de Marillac, the young widow of one Antoine Le Gras, a secretary of Marie de Médicis, better known under the name of Mlle. Le Gras—for in the seventeenth century both the wives and widows of the bourgeois were only entitled to the name of *demoiselle*. This lady was placed by the Bishop of Belley, her director, in the hands of Vincent for service among the poor, and it was by her advice that some village girls were enlisted to carry out the charitable missions in the streets, hospitals, and slums of Paris, where the associated Dames de la Charité were too delicate to venture. She was, with Vincent, the founder of the Sœurs de Charité.

Three years after Vincent had taken up his residence at the Collège des Bons-Enfants, while travelling with Augustin Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, a discussion arose between them as to the best means of preparing the young ecclesiastics for ordination; and the Bishop induced Vincent to prepare the exercises to be followed by the ordinands of his diocese during their retreat previous to their ordination at Beauvais. The Archbishop of Paris, Jean François de Gondi, having learned of the good effects produced by the retreat held under Vincent's direction at Beauvais, ordered that all aspirants to holy orders in his diocese were to prepare themselves for ordination by a retreat of ten days; and he requested Vincent de Paul to undertake the duty of receiving and preparing the young ordinands at the Collège des Bons-Enfants. In 1632 Pope Urbain VIII. approved and confirmed by a bull the establishment of the Congregation of the Mission with Vincent de Paul as its Superior; and in the same year the religious of St. Lazare resigned that priory, which was given over in perpetuity to the mission.

On January 8, 1632, Vincent took possession of the Priory of St. Lazare, where the Congregation of the Mission remained until the days of the Revolution. It was on this account that it became usual to call the missionaries the priests of St. Lazare, or more commonly Lazarists, by which name they are known in France to the present day, while in England and America the members of the order

are now generally termed Vincentians. One of the conditions imposed upon Vincent and his priests of the Congregation was, that during quarter-tense of each year, and without interfering with the missions, M. Vincent should receive the ordinands of the diocese of Paris, maintaining them for fifteen days of spiritual exercise. During these retreats there were two lectures a day, and they became so popular that they attracted ecclesiastics from every province in France ; indeed, no fewer than five or six hundred young priests passed through these exercises annually at St. Lazare, so that the good influence of Vincent de Paul went a long way to reform the spirit of the French clergy. In fact, the preaching of Vincent had so endeared him to those who had sat at his feet, that even after they had become priests they continued to attend his lectures. For this purpose, at the suggestion, it is said, of M. Olier, weekly meetings were arranged, and at these celebrated Tuesday conferences, the first of which was held in June 1633, priests assembled from all parts of Paris.

In 1635, at the request of several bishops, M. Vincent consented to prepare twelve or fourteen young students for the priesthood. This experiment did not answer, and it was not until 1641 that he again formed seminaries at Annecy, Alet, and Saintes. These also proved failures.

'At last, in 1642, St. Vincent felt that the real cause of so many successive failures was to be found in the mixing of the seminarists proper with the young students, under a code of discipline not applicable to both. He determined then to separate them. He retained the seminarists in the Collège des Bons-Enfants, and placed the students in a house that was purchased, at the end of the grounds, called the Seminary of St. Charles. By this master-stroke he founded once for all what has never since been abandoned—large and small seminaries.'

In the spring of the following year Vincent was summoned to St. Germain to attend the death-bed of Louis XIII., which he has described in a letter to Codoing, the Superior of the mission at Rome, dated on the day after the monarch's decease :—

'Il a plu hier à Dieu de disposer de notre bon roi, le jour même où il a commencé son règne, il y a trente-trois ans. Sa Majesté a désiré que j'assistasse à sa mort avec messeigneurs les évêques de Lisieux et de Meaux, son premier aumônier, et le R. père Dinet, son confesseur. Depuis que je suis sur la terre je n'ai vu mourir personne plus chrétienement. Il y a environ quinze jours qu'il m'a fait commander de l'aller voir, et, comme il allait mieux, je n'y suis pas retourné le jour suivant. Il m'a fait réclamer il y a

trois jours, pendant lesquels Notre Seigneur m'a fai la grâce de rester auprès de lui. Je n'ai jamais vu une plus grande élévation à Dieu, une plus grande tranquillité, une plus grande crainte des moindres actions qui peuvent être péchés, une plus grande bonté ni un plus grand jugement en une personne d'un tel état. Avant-hier les médecins, l'ayant vu endormi et les yeux tournés, craignirent qu'il n'allât expirer et le dirent au père confesseur, qui l'éveilla tout à coup et lui dit que les médecins estimaient que l'heure était venue, et qu'il fallait faire la recommandation de l'âme. Au même instant, l'esprit rempli de celui de Dieu, il embrasse ce bon père et lui rend grâces de la bonne nouvelle qu'il lui donne. Tout à coup, élevant les yeux et les bras vers le ciel, il dit le *Te Deum laudamus*, et le finit avec une ferveur si grande que le seul souvenir m'attendrit dans cet instant que je vous parle. Et comme la cloche m'appelle et m'empêche de vous en dire davantage, je finis en le recommandant à vos prières et à celles de la Compagnie.*

The effects of the Thirty Years' War were, by this time, severely manifested on the French frontiers ; the country folk suffered the persecutions of the soldiery on each side, who plundered friends and foes alike. Famine had broken out in Lorraine in 1631, and in 1635 it was at its height. The poor were dying of hunger, and once thriving villages were deserted.

' In 1640 four to five thousand poor entered Metz, and soon the place was strewn with dead and dying. Besides hunger and disease, wolves, attracted by the stench of the corpses, entered the towns and villages, in full daylight, and devoured women and children. . . .

' Famine, however, was not the worst consequence of these wars ; it was pestilence. The mercenary soldiers, coming from the East, the Bohemians, Croats, and Hungarians, brought the infection with them, and left it after them. The thousands of men killed and not buried, the sick imprisoned in their houses and dying of hunger, and the carcasses of horses helped to spread and keep alive the fearful malady. It attacked Lorraine, Burgundy, and Champagne in 1631, and returned again in 1633 and 1635. At St. Quentin, in 1636, three thousand died in six months. About October of the same year the plague broke out at Beauvais and Compiègne, causing terrible destruction. In the little town of Marle, within five months, more than four hundred people died. In 1637 it visited Lorraine for the seventh time, passing from it to Burgundy, where at Auxonne alone were reckoned three thousand five hundred deaths. . . . Normandy, which had escaped the war, did not escape the pestilence. At Rouen more than seventeen thousand persons were carried off in a very short time. . . . Paris was no better off. Twenty-two doctors and a number of priests and religious were soon victims of the scourge. From Paris it passed to the country round

* The original of this letter is lost. Maynard gives the above French version from the Italian of the process of canonisation.

Bordeaux, Bas-Languedoc, Avignon, Toulouse, Marseilles, Nîmes, and again to Burgundy and Lorraine.'

The charitable associations organised by Vincent de Paul enabled him to dispose of considerable sums for the relief of the needy in the provinces. In 1640 he was sending 500 livres a month to each of the towns of Nancy, Verdun, Metz, Toul, and Bar-le-Duc, amounting to some thirty thousand livres in the year. By 1650 Vincent's charitable service reached 72,000 livres a year; and in January 1651 Lorraine was receiving 3,000 livres a week. This was besides a large expenditure in Burgundy, the environs of Paris, and elsewhere. Indeed, by the end of the war, it was computed that Vincent de Paul had distributed charities to the amount of 12,000,000 livres, or nearly one million pounds sterling.

'To collect money was not enough, it was necessary to bring it to the afflicted people, and lastly to distribute it prudently. For this object St. Vincent had his two armies—the Priests of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity. He sent them in groups, with orders to divide on the battlefield, and to labour in the most afflicted districts. Soon they were to be seen at Metz, Verdun, Nancy, Pont-à-Mousson, Bar-le-Duc, St. Mihiel, and later at Etampes, Palaiseau, and Richelieu. . . . After a while he gathered the missionaries together again, and placed ten or fifteen under a Superior in different places. To these he sent visitors, who made a report of the state of the district, so that charity might be given proportionate to the need. He acted in the same manner with the Sisters of Charity, sending them in twos and threes to the most dangerous places, encouraging the weak, and praising those who died "sword in hand," as he used to say.'

The continuation of the war increasing the public miseries every day, Vincent interviewed Richelieu,* to remonstrate with him: 'Monseigneur, donnez-nous la paix; ayez pitié 'de nous; donnez la paix à la France,' and the great minister did not fail graciously to reassure him. But on another occasion it appears that Vincent's requests were not always so acceptable. Not too pleased, we are told, to receive and have to assist the numerous exiles from Great Britain, who were so constantly coming over from that 'foyer de sédition,'

* Cardinal de Richelieu had previously received Vincent de Paul, whose conferences had attracted his attention. After a long talk with the ecclesiastic, he remarked to his niece, the Duchess of Aiguillon: 'J'avais déjà une grande idée de M. Vincent, mais je le regarde comme un tout autre homme depuis le dernier entretien que j'ai eu avec lui.'

Vincent had the temerity to propose to the Cardinal that he should raise a rebellion in Ireland, and he even offered to subsidise the troops who might be sent over to encourage the rebels. Needless to say, this proposal did not meet with acceptance by Richelieu.

After the death of Louis XIII., the Queen-Regent, Anne of Austria, summoned Vincent to become a member of the Council of Conscience, whose object was to aid in the selection of persons for benefices and the nomination of bishops.

'From the beginning he made it a rule never to go to Court except to attend the Council of Conscience, or by a formal command of the Queen. It was by no means congenial to him to be among a crowd of courtiers, where, however, many bishops and cardinals were to be met. He also resolved to go to Court in his every-day dress, in his old, heavy, and patched soutane, which is still preserved as a relic, with his poor woollen cincture, his big shoes, and worn-out hat; but all, though extremely poor, were without spot or stain. One day Mazarin, catching his cincture and turning to the Queen, said, "See, madame, how well dressed M. Vincent comes to Court, and the fine cincture he has." The saint merely smiled, and even after this hint from the Cardinal did not change his costume, but appeared in it before the Queen herself. When passing through the salons and great halls of the Louvre, on his way to attend the Council of Conscience, the lords rose and gave him a profound salute, which he scarcely saw, such was his humility. He passed through quietly, but without stopping to speak, his eyes cast down and his modest deportment were indicative of his great goodness. It was for him a weekly mortification. . . . A holy bishop, not having met him since his election to the council, and afterwards seeing him as humble, as affable, and ready to oblige as before, could not help exclaiming, "M. Vincent is always M. Vincent!"'

As chief of this council Vincent felt himself terribly oppressed by the enormous responsibility, which rendered him, so to speak, the arbiter of the Church of France, and he begged the Queen to exonerate him from such a task; but Anne of Austria well knew his incorruptible virtue, and saw in him the means of putting a check on the insatiable greed of her favourite. The abuses of the ecclesiastical Crown appointments were notorious at this time, for Mazarin had encouraged simony to the utmost; but Vincent, well supported by his coadjutors, the Bishops of Beauvais and Lisieux, set his face sternly against such evil practices :—

"Je tremble," disait parfois Vincent, consterné, "qu'un si
damnable trafic n'attire la malédiction de Dieu sur ce royaume." Et

cette simonie, il la poursuivait impitoyablement et résolument partout où il pouvait la découvrir. Pendant dix ans il osa tenir tête à Mazarin, devant qui tout pliait. Seul, il resta inflexible, au risque de se perdre dans l'esprit de la Reine, comme il en fut plusieurs fois menacé. Si on lui demandait son avis pour la collation des bénéfices supérieurs ou des prélatures, ou si l'on entendait lui imposer des choix, il refusait inexorablement d'admettre des sujets indignes, au risque de s'attirer la dangereuse haine du favori. Il résistait aux sollicitations de ses propres amis et même à celles de la reine, qui souvent cédait à ses observations.'

Of course, Mazarin had his own way in the end. The Bishops of Beauvais and Lisieux were sent back to their dioceses, and the Cardinal suspended the meetings of the Council of Conscience; nevertheless, the Queen continued to secretly consult Vincent regarding the choice of bishops, and more than once he was able to exclude the unworthy *protégés* of the powerful favourite.

Among other charitable institutions, Vincent had long contemplated an asylum for children abandoned by their parents; and, in 1648, he convoked a meeting of ladies, who consented to assist him in establishing a foundling hospital. The young King gave the building of Bicêtre for the purpose; but this was found inconvenient, and the foundlings were transferred to the Faubourg St. Laurent, under the Filles de la Charité, and soon afterwards to the Faubourg St. Lazare. A legend, invented, it would seem, by Capefigue,* and perpetuated in some charming poetical verses by François Coppée,† represents Vincent de Paul perambulating the streets and slums of Paris by night, searching for deserted and strayed children, and bringing back babes in his arms to the Sisters of Charity. Chantelauze has plainly shown how these nocturnal rambles of the saint are pure inventions. Nine years afterwards the report of this hospice states that nearly four hundred children had been admitted during the year 1657, while the expenses amounted to no less than 17,000 livres. Ten years after that date Parliament made an annual grant of 15,000 livres towards the support of this institution.

We now come to the times of the Fronde, of which civil war Alphonse Feillet has disclosed the awful effects, the famine and disease by which the population of France was decimated. It will be remembered that Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, formerly Vincent's pupil, was one of the

* *Histoire de saint Vincent de Paul* (Paris, 1827), pp. 67-69.

† *Récits Epiques.*

leading chiefs of the Frondeurs, who, in August 1648, incited the mob of Paris to rise against Mazarin and the royal troops, forcing the Queen Regent to retire to St. Germain, while Condé prepared to blockade the city. The close siege of Paris did not prevent Vincent from taking the bold step of making his way out of the beleaguered city and obtaining an interview with Queen Anne, to whom he described in moving terms the terrible state of Paris and the dire distress of its inhabitants :—

“ ‘ Is it just, Madame,’ said he, ‘ that a million who are innocent should die of hunger for twenty or thirty who are guilty ? Think of the miseries that will beset your people, of the ruins, the sacrileges, the profanations that civil war brings in its train ! And all this for what ? To retain one who is an object of public hatred. If the presence of Cardinal Mazarin is a source of trouble to the State, are you not bound to dispense with him at least for awhile ? ’ ”

The Queen sent him to see Mazarin, to whom he did not hesitate to say : ‘ Monseigneur, cédez au temps, et jetez-vous à la mer pour calmer l’orage.’ To which Mazarin quietly replied : ‘ Voilà une semonce bien vive, et personne ne m’a encore osé tenir un tel langage. Néanmoins, notre père, ‘ je m’en irai, si M. Le Tellier est de votre avis.’ Of course, the astute Cardinal well knew that M. Le Tellier, who owed to him everything, would not have the same courage ; and, indeed, there the incident ended. But the Cardinal was deeply offended at the mere suggestion that he should fly ; nor did he ever forgive Vincent de Paul for his plain speaking. While the venerable missioner, now in his seventy-fifth year, was thus vainly endeavouring to calm the bitter resentment of the Queen, the pamphleteers in Paris no more spared him than they did the Regent herself in their ‘ Mazarinades.’ Notably did they accuse him of abetting an alleged secret marriage between the Queen and the Cardinal. Later on the populace, excited by these accusations, attacked and pillaged the mission-house of St. Lazare, although there was a daily public distribution of bread from that establishment. Vincent de Paul therefore found it prudent to leave Paris, and took the opportunity of making a visitation to the various houses of his order in the provinces, whence he did not fail to collect provisions for the famishing poor in Paris. When, however, Paris opened her gates after peace had been signed at Rueil, the Queen at once wrote to Vincent begging him to return, but unhappily he lay ill at Richelieu.

We cannot here follow all the complicated affairs of the

Fronde, but it seems certain that Vincent did not revisit Paris until Mazarin entered the city in February 1653:—

'The spectacle that met St. Vincent's view when he returned to Paris was singularly sad and well calculated to discourage a less humble mind than his. Many of his works were in ruins, and the misery he had laboured to minimise had increased. Never were there so many outcast children on the streets, and no money to maintain them. Never were there so many young girls without education, religious instruction, or means of livelihood. . . . The streets were crowded with beggars, some truly poor—nay, dying of hunger; others only feigning wretchedness, but extorting money by threats. In Paris alone there were forty-five thousand of these beggars, and the environs were practically uninhabitable. To combat these different forms of misery, St. Vincent had raised up his armies of charity. The evils, however, of the time had tended to increase the misery and decrease the ranks of his associations. . . .

'The other armies of charity, the Priests of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity, held together by their religious constitution, had better withstood the storm. No doubt the Priests of the Mission, spread all over the afflicted provinces, had lost many eminent men; but, on the other hand, they had gained many young recruits who, if they lacked the experience of their elders, were possessed of the zeal of martyrs. With the aid of these St. Vincent had founded eleven new houses, and, what was still better, seven new seminaries.'

In the midst of the terrible disorders created by the civil war even the servants of the poor, the Priests of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity, were not always secure. They were robbed of the money and provisions which they were bringing then to the sick and destitute, until Vincent obtained from the Regent a royal edict especially protecting his servants of the poor from the interference of the soldiery. M. Alphonse Feillet has rescued from oblivion the original document containing the protective 'Ordonnance Militaire,' which had hitherto escaped all notice by the historians of the Fronde.

This rescript of Louis XIV. attributed to Vincent de Paul a recognised official position. He was no longer to be regarded, says Feillet, as a mere private individual distributing alms collected among his wealthy patrons, but henceforth he was 'le Grand Aumônier de la France,' into whose hands the Queen Regent had committed the care and superintendence of the poor and needy throughout the kingdom. 'La charité a fait de l'humble paysan des Landes "la seule force active du royaume en décadence, et le titre "de PÈRE DE LA PATRIE, que lui donne le gouverneur de Saint-Quentin, ne fut jamais mieux mérité.'

In the midst of the immensity of work created by the superintendence of so many public charities Vincent was by no means forgetful of the spread of the Gospel, not only throughout France, but in foreign countries as well. He had always remembered his captivity in Tunis, and at the first opportunity he despatched thither a mission in 1645. In the same year other missionaries were sent to Genoa and to Ireland, while in 1646 a mission was established at Algiers under Philippe Le Vacher to evangelise the thousands of European slaves held there in captivity.

The Compagnie Française de l'Orient, which had established a settlement in Madagascar under the auspices of Richelieu in 1642, hearing of the disastrous state of their colony, sent out one of the directors, M. de Flacourt, as Commandant-General of the island, with eighty colonists, among whom M. Vincent embraced the opportunity of sending two missionaries, Fathers Nacquard and Gondree. Various letters of M. Vincent to these and other missionaries have been preserved, and are particularly interesting, especially those in which he warns them how to behave in presence of the Huguenot preachers when travelling in the same vessel; for previous to Flacourt's arrival at Fort Dauphin the chiefs of the colony in Madagascar had been generally Protestants.

The climate of Madagascar was not less sickly in those days than it is at present, and necessarily the malarial fever, which could not then be combated and ameliorated by quinine, decimated the French colonists. Few, if any, of the priests of the mission ever returned from the great African island, but the death vacancies in their ranks were ever filled up by volunteers from St. Lazare until the French colony was finally abandoned. The last surviving priests were wrecked on their return voyage, but fortunately escaped with their lives.

The Duchess d'Aiguillon had furnished the means for the African missions; in like manner other influential ladies gave Vincent considerable sums for his mission to Ireland, where the Lazarist priests met with great success, at least, during the early years of the reign of Charles I.,* until the days of the Commonwealth, when Cromwell's troops wrought such havoc among the Roman Catholics.

* When Henrietta, daughter of Henri IV., entered London as the bride of Charles I., she was accompanied by Father de Bérulle and twelve Oratorians; while by the marriage contract full liberty was given to the Roman Catholic religion.

In 1651 priests were sent into Scotland, the Orkney Islands, and the Hebrides, where they led a precarious existence, for the judges and magistrates were commanded to imprison and punish according to the law all foreign priests who might be found. Marie Louise de Gonzagua, Queen of Poland, who had been an associate of Vincent's Assembly of Charity, having desired that Priests of the Mission, Sisters of Charity, and Nuns of the Visitation should be sent to Warsaw, where the plague was then raging, Vincent de Paul complied with her request, and parties of missionaries and Sisters of Charity were sent to the assistance of the Poles.

Founded in 1633 as auxiliaries of the Ladies of Charity, the Sisters of Charity gradually rose from that secondary position until the former association was altogether effaced, although in modern days it has been revived. At first there were but a very few allotted to the different parishes in Paris. They lodged with the Ladies of Charity, and during the week visited the poor and sick and reported fresh case of destitution or want. In 1634 Mlle. Le Gras, who was in charge of the first sisters, asked permission from Vincent de Paul to bind herself by a vow to so holy a work, and she consecrated herself on March 25, 1634, the day on which every year the Sisters of Charity renew their vows; but Vincent did not finally give them rules as an order until 1655, by which time there were some fifty houses belonging to the sisterhood in France.

At the present time there are more than twenty thousand of these sisters, and they are to be found all over the world.

In 1646 Vincent petitioned the Archbishop of Paris to create the Sisters of Charity into a society, under the direction of a priest named by him. Cardinal de Retz cordially received the proposition, and he named Vincent de Paul as Superior-General of the sisters during his life, and later his successors the Superiors-General of the Congregation of the Mission were nominated to direct the sisterhood in the future. In like manner the Mother-General was to be chosen from among the Sisters of Charity themselves, who from Paris was to direct the houses of the sisters since spread all over the world. The stability of this sisterhood has been assured by the wise resolve taken by the first Superior that the sisters were *not* to be religious in the strict sense—*not* to make perpetual vows, but only for one year; they were to use the secular dress, and *not* to have

special chaplains or confessors. Following the expressions of Vincent himself :—

'Ces filles n'ont ordinairement pour monastères que les maisons des malades, pour cellule qu'un chambre de louage, pour chapelle que l'église de leur paroisse, pour cloître que les rues de la ville ou les salles des hôpitaux, pour clôture que l'obéissance, pour grille que la crainte de Dieu, et pour voile qu'une sainte et exacte modestie.'

Indeed, Vincent had good reason for not approving of cloistered orders, having experienced the shameless irregularities practised in various nunneries in France, notably in the Abbey of Longchamps, founded by Marguerite, sister of St. Louis, which he succeeded in restoring to discipline and good behaviour by appointing a secular or regular ecclesiastic as visitor in the place of the Franciscans, to whose conduct the scandalous disorders had been imputed.

The end of Vincent's life was now approaching. In the year 1658, when he was eighty-two years of age, he put the finishing stroke to his rules of his Congregation of the Mission, and a few months later he was compelled by his infirmities to use crutches, on which he hobbled to Mass in the chapel of St. Lazare. His friends, Mlle. Le Gras and Father Portail, the first Sister of Charity and the first Priest of the Mission, both died in the spring of 1660, and on September 27 of that year the venerable servant of the poor breathed his last. His name will always stand prominent among those great men whom France has given to the world.

Thirty-seven years after the death of Vincent de Paul the Lazarists brought to the notice of Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, a miraculous cure which had occurred to one Father Bounet, a Priest of the Mission, at the tomb of their simple-minded founder, who, judging from his humility while alive, would surely have been the last to attribute such miraculous powers to his poor mortal remains. A tribunal of ecclesiastics having been appointed for investigation, abundant testimony to the exalted virtue of the departed priest was accumulated and forwarded to Rome. Orders were given by Clement XI. to commence the customary processes to establish the spotless reputation for sanctity in which Vincent was almost universally regarded in France. The details of the ecclesiastical procedure necessary for beatification and canonisation are well worth reading, as they will be found interesting by many who are unac-

quainted with the practice of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in such matters, but we have not space to quote them. The Bull of Canonisation, which is given at length by M. Bougaud, was dated June 16, 1737, and it gives a full résumé of the life and good works of the now sanctified Vincent de Paul. The relics of the saint were now enclosed in a costly silver-gilt shrine above the high altar in the chapel of St. Lazare, where they remained for veneration for the remainder of the eighteenth century until the eve of the Revolution. On the day before the destruction of the Bastille the mob broke into the house of St. Lazare, but, curiously, the shrine of St. Vincent de Paul escaped untouched. It was not until 1792 that the agents of the Government, having demanded all the objects of gold and silver in the establishment, took possession of the coffin, but allowed the priests to preserve the actual relics, which were reinstated with all possible solemnity on the altar of St. Lazare on April 25, 1830, but a few months before the abdication of Charles X. in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux, Louis Philippe d'Orléans.

We must not conclude without a brief account of the position which Vincent de Paul's two great orders have attained in our own land. To begin with the Congregation of the Mission. It has already been noticed how missionaries had been despatched from St. Lazare in the seventeenth century by Vincent himself, and how this mission had been broken up by the return of the surviving priests after six years of unrequited labours. It was not until 1835 that some Irish priests of Maynooth College formed a community of Vincentians at St. Vincent's College, in Castleknock, near Dublin. But it seems remarkable that the Superior, Father Dowley, and his followers did not at first realise that the institution which they were striving to found already existed at Paris, and had spread elsewhere throughout the world.

Communication having at length been effected with the Lazarist Mission at Paris, Father Geraud was sent over to re-establish the confraternity in the British Isles and Australia, which are all included for this purpose in the province of Ireland, in affiliation with the Irish College in Paris. The personnel of this community now consists of 92 priests, 10 students, 16 seminarists, and 35 lay-brothers. Thus the Congregation of the Mission, driven from Great Britain in the days of Cromwell, has returned there and is now spread to some extent in England and the colonies. There are now houses of this order in Dublin, Cork, and

Armagh ; in Westminster, Leeds, and Glasgow ; in Sydney, Melbourne, and Bathurst.

This introduction to our islands of the Vincentian communities was naturally followed by the establishment of sisterhoods. The first house was opened in 1855 at Drogheda by some Sisters of Charity who had completed their noviciate at Paris. Two years afterwards the first house in England was founded at Sheffield, and, in 1864, another was formed at Lanark. By the end of last year there were eight Irish houses in Dublin, Drogheda, and Cork, working in connexion with hospitals, infirmaries, orphanages, schools, and the poor ; six in Scotland--at Lanark, Glasgow, Dumfries, Edinburgh, and Dunfermline, while there are now no fewer than thirty-seven in England all united in one province whose head-quarters have been established in Mill Hill, London, N.W.

Let us now turn to America. It was in 1815 that Bishop Dubourg, having proceeded from Louisiana to Rome, to obtain the services of priests in the newly created diocese of New Orleans, resided at the house of the Vincentian Fathers at Monte Citorio. Several of these Italian priests accompanied Monseigneur Dubourg back to St. Louis, near which place the American Congregation was first established. There are now, it appears, five houses in the Eastern Province of the United States, at Baltimore, Emmitsburg, Germanstown, Brooklyn, and Niagara,* while in the Western Province there are ten at Perryville, Cape Girardeau, Chicago, Kansas City, La Salle, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and St. Louis.†

It was a certain Mrs. Seton, the young widow of a merchant in New York, a convert from Protestantism, who first started a sisterhood of charity in the United States, with the aid of Father Cooper, who had likewise left the Church of England for that of Rome. Their work was commenced at Emmitsburg, Maryland, where a farm had been purchased in 1810 ; and three Sisters of Charity came over from Paris in order to train this American sisterhood in the usages and spirit of the French community ; but the American sisters were not actually affiliated with those of France until 1850, in which year they made their vows conformably to the custom and rules of the 'Filles de la

* Total personnel in Eastern Province includes 60 priests, 21 students, 12 seminarists, and 16 lay-brothers.

† Total personnel in Western Province 59 priests, 47 students, 20 seminarists, 18 lay-brothers.

'Charité' as established by St. Vincent de Paul, and they then assumed the traditional costume of the Puelles Charitatis of the seventeenth century.

The anti-clerical feeling, now so widespread throughout the French Republic, as evidenced by the recent savage attacks by the mobs on some of the metropolitan churches, has given rise to the establishment of a nursing institution in Paris, whose members are not to be bound by any vows whatsoever, but, on the contrary, are to be wholly independent of all religions.

This institute has been started under influential patronage and under the auspices of Dr. Paul Reclus, with other eminent surgeons and physicians. It remains to be seen whether this lay establishment will ever be able to compete with the Sœurs de la Charité; but may we venture to predict that the day is far distant--and a bad day it will be for France--when the work of St. Vincent de Paul can be superseded by that of the modern professional nurse?

ART. XI.—Correspondence with Reference to the Political Affairs of the South African Republic, presented to Parliament. 1899.

In our last number we discussed in a hopeful spirit the benefits that might accrue to the world from the Peace Conference at the Hague. It had not then concluded its labours in the cause of peace ; and now, within less than three months' time, we find the British Empire—surely not the least genuinely peace-loving of the great nations of the earth—embarking on the largest military undertaking she has known since the Crimean war. It would be easy to be cynical over such a spectacle; it is impossible not to be sad !

For many years past the state of South Africa has been one of unrest. The situation has, in truth, been full of difficulty. There existed elements of discord known to us all ; and statesmen in Africa and at home have at least had ample warning that only the wisest and most prudent guidance could reconcile the jealousy and the jarrings of racial antagonism and save South Africa from the overwhelming disaster of a racial war. The Convention of 1884 was concluded by Lord Derby and President Kruger, while the Transvaal was still a remote and pastoral State ; and neither, could he have foreseen the changes almost immediately afterwards produced by the discovery of gold, would have used the language that he did in negotiating that Convention, or indeed have supposed that such an arrangement was suited to the requirements of the case. In April 1896, in July 1897, and in January 1898 we invited the attention of our readers to the history and existing condition of affairs in South Africa, and we have no intention now to go back upon the past. We deplored then, and we have more than ever reason to deplore now, the incalculable injury done to South Africa and the Empire by the Jameson Raid. The Boers are among the most suspicious of mankind ; and when it appeared that the Raid was no madcap freak of a party of adventurers, but was part of a conspiracy long and deeply planned by the Prime Minister of Cape Colony—a man held in high honour by so many of his countrymen at home—it is small wonder if a distrust was created in British professions and in British good faith which it has been almost impossible to remove.

It is admitted on all hands that the system of government

prevailing in the Republic could not go on unchanged. The Boers have their virtues as well as their faults, but they are utterly unfit to govern an enterprising foreign community, such as has grown up round the gold fields. They or their ancestors had fought for and won their independence when they were the sole white inhabitants of the country. Now they are only a minority of the people; and it was not likely that an oligarchy of Dutch farmers would prove equal to the duty of governing the energetic, industrial, go-ahead foreign population which had come to push its fortune in the Transvaal. On the other hand it was equally unlikely that the Boers would, without a good deal of pressure, surrender a large part of their authority into the hands of foreigners. The outlanders of Johannesburg and the Rand, drawn from all quarters of the earth, but mainly English and American, are what the population of such new cities always are. Men came in thousands to make their fortunes rapidly, hoping before many years had passed to leave the country for ever with the wealth they had accumulated. Between Englishmen and Dutchmen there is not naturally any racial antagonism; but in the Transvaal the conditions were such as almost necessarily to bring about strained relations between the burghers and the foreign element which threatened to swamp them. Everything had concurred to render the Transvaal Dutch the most backward, the most narrow-minded, and the least open to modern ideas and influences of all the African Dutch; while the new population which they had to govern was little suited to old-world notions of government, even if that government was honestly administered for the public good. But that was not the case, and the foreign residents burned with natural indignation when they saw that those whom they regarded as their tyrannical oppressors were accumulating large fortunes and expending great sums produced by the energy, industry, and capital which the foreigners themselves had brought into the State.

In many respects the Dutch of South Africa, with whom till quite recent years the British were rapidly amalgamating, are a peculiar people. They constitute a very large proportion of the white population of Cape Colony. An excellent account of their peculiarities is given by Sir Harry Johnston in his valuable little book on African colonisation.*

* The old rivalry between the English and the Dutch, which had

* 'A History of the Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races,' by Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B. London : 1899.

begun almost as soon as the Dutch were a free people, and competitors with us for the trade of the East and West Indies, had created a feeling of enmity between the two races, which ought never to have existed, seeing how nearly they are of the same stock, and how closely allied in language, religion, and to some extent in history—also how nearly matched they are in physical and mental worth. Curiously enough, there is far greater affinity in thought and character between the Scotch and the Dutch than between the Dutch and the English. The same thriftiness, bordering at times on parsimony, oddly combined with the largest-hearted hospitality, the same tendency to strike a hard bargain, even to overreach in matters of business, and the same dogged perseverance characterise both Dutch and Scotch; while in matters of religion almost precisely the same form of Protestant Christianity appeals to both; so much so that there is practically a fusion between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterians. Had Scotchmen been sent out to administer Cape Colony in its early days it is probable that something like a fusion might have taken place, and there would have been no Dutch question to cause discussion in South African politics in the nineteenth century. The Scotch would have understood the Boer settlers and their idiosyncrasies, and would not have made fun of them or been so deliberately unsympathetic as were some of the earlier English governors. Slavery would have been abolished all the same, but it would have been abolished more cautiously, in a way that would not have left behind the sting of a grievance.'

On the return of Sir Alfred Milner to South Africa in the spring of the present year it became evident that the long-standing difficulties between the Empire and the South African Republic were coming to a head. This it is abundantly clear was the wish of the Secretary of State in London and of his representative at Cape Town. The state of continual complaint on the one side, and of unwillingness to give redress on the other—of incessant wrangling and disputation—could not be indefinitely prolonged except at the cost of great loss of dignity and influence to Great Britain and of permanent disquiet and instability in South Africa. In March a petition to the Queen, signed by over twenty thousand British subjects, resident at and near Johannesburg, was sent home by Sir Alfred Milner, who certified to its substantial genuineness and to the reality of the grievances of which it complained. They were treated, the petitioners said, as foreigners, enjoying practically none of the privileges of citizens, though they contributed out of their taxes a very large proportion of the income of the State. The Government was utterly corrupt, and recent legislation had steadily tended against their interests. They were defenceless in the midst of an armed Boer population, and they were without any constitutional means of helping themselves.

They implored, therefore, the protection of her Majesty. They asked that their grievances might be redressed, and that they might be secured, by effectual guarantee of the State Government, 'in their rights as British subjects.' At the end of the same month of March, President Kruger made elaborate speeches at Heidelberg and Johannesburg with reference to the uitlander grievances. As to the franchise, he spoke as follows : -

' I would not be worthy to be the head of the State if I did not protect the old burghers. Nor would I be worthy to be the head of the State if I did not bear in mind the interests of the new population with the object of helping them. I make no distinction between nationalities ; I only make a distinction between good and bad people ---between those who are loyal and those who are not. You all know that when first we discovered these gold fields, and they began to be worked, the franchise was given to any one who lived here a year. But when from all countries and all nations men began to stream in it became our duty to prevent the old burghers from being overwhelmed. I would not have been worthy of my position if I had allowed the new-comers to immediately sweep away and overwhelm the old inhabitants of the country.'

Hence precautions had been taken, and the period of probation had been increased. At the time when he spoke it required fourteen years for the outlander to acquire full privileges as an enfranchised citizen. The President proposed to reduce this term by five years, and in another ten years or so to reduce it still further ; and he pointed out the great difference that existed between the admission of foreigners as citizens of large countries, such as the United States of America, and their admission where they would become at once the majority and ruling power in the nation.

These proposals seemed at first sight to promise a step in the right direction, but Sir Alfred Milner pointed out that on examination they proved to be utterly inadequate in themselves, and afforded, moreover, no guarantee that even such as they were they would not be swept away by a simple resolution of the First Raad, whenever it suited its purpose. It is clear that our Government could not possibly have accepted these offers as a settlement ; but something at least was gained for negotiation in the language held by the President. The grievance was admitted, and the discussion of the proper measure of relief, so far as the franchise grievance was concerned, seemed likely to enter on the not unhopeful field of more or less.

In May a new chapter in the history of our relations with

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the Republic was opened by the publication of Sir Alfred Milner's despatch to Mr. Chamberlain, which was telegraphed from Cape Town on the 5th, and which was at once sent to the newspapers. It was a paper written with much force, and with a warmth of language unusual in diplomatic documents intended for publication. When negotiation is in contemplation or in actual progress it is often a difficult question to decide how far it is wise to make public the communications that are passing between the agent on the spot and the Government whom he serves. But in this case, no doubt, Mr. Chamberlain thought it of supreme importance to inform the British public of the precise attitude of the Colonial Office towards the difficult problems with which it had to deal; and as a matter of fact the despatch was accepted as a manifesto of national policy. As such it deserved and received almost universal support.

It is desirable to recall the principal points insisted upon in this memorable despatch. To begin with, the grievances alleged in the petition to the Queen were substantiated, and it was pointed out that, far from anything having been done to alleviate them, the treatment of the uitlanders was becoming worse and worse. British subjects resented

'the personal indignity involved in the position of permanent subjection to the ruling caste, which owes its wealth and power to their exertion. The political turmoil in the South African Republic will never end till the *permanent uitlander population* is admitted to a share in the government, and while that turmoil lasts there will be no tranquillity or adequate progress in her Majesty's South African dominions.'

... The only condition on which the South African Colonies and the two Republics can live in harmony and the country progress is equality all round. South Africa can prosper under two, three, or six Governments, but not under two absolutely conflicting social and political systems, perfect equality for Dutch and British in the British Colonies side by side with permanent subjection of British to Dutch in one of the Republics. It is idle to talk of peace and unity under such a state of affairs.'

Sir Alfred goes on to point out that it is the right and the interest of Great Britain to secure fair treatment of the uitlanders, of whom the majority are British subjects, and that the system hitherto followed of remonstrating, generally in vain, about every injury to individual Englishmen had become an impossible one. 'It may easily lead to war, but 'will never lead to real improvement.' Then comes an important paragraph, which must be quoted entire.

'The true remedy is to strike at the root of all these injuries—the

political impotence of the injured. What diplomatic protests will never accomplish, a fair measure of uitlander representation would gradually but surely bring about. It seems a paradox, but it is true, that the only effective way of protecting our subjects is to help them to cease to be our subjects. The admission of uitlanders to a fair share of political power would no doubt give stability to the Republic; but it at the same time will remove most of our causes of difference with it, and modify and in the long run entirely remove that intense suspicion and bitter hostility to Great Britain which at present dominates its internal and external policy.'

The spectacle of thousands of British subjects, he continues, 'kept permanently in the position of helots' (an absurdly exaggerated phrase to apply to men who came to, and remained in, the Transvaal solely for the personal advantage they found in so doing) was undermining all respect for the British Government in her own dominions. The Dutch press in and out of the Transvaal was libelling the British Government, and producing an effect upon the loyalty even of our Dutch fellow colonists, of whom thousands were being drawn into disaffection, thereby creating exasperation on the side of the British.

'I see nothing,' concludes this despatch, 'which will put an end to this mischievous propaganda but some striking proof of the intention of her Majesty's Government not to be ousted from its position in South Africa. And the best proof alike of its power and its justice would be to obtain for the uitlanders in the Transvaal a fair share in the government of the country, which owes everything to their exertions. It would be made perfectly clear that our action was not directed against the existence of the Republic.'

Here assuredly were all the conditions to tax the firmness and diplomatic skill of the British High Commissioner. If anything was to be won by negotiation it would be necessary to soothe where he could British irritation, and to allay where he could Dutch suspicion. There can be no doubt that the policy he recommended was just and wise. It was rested upon no argumentative claims to suzerainty, but on the right which clearly belongs to the British nation to protect the interests of its own subjects even in foreign lands, and to secure the peace and prosperity of South Africa. Had similar conditions sprung up across the Portuguese and not across the Transvaal frontier we should have equally been bound to take the requisite steps, whatever might have been the most appropriate ones, to bring to an end a permanent and highly dangerous condition of unstable equilibrium.

Mr. Chamberlain accordingly in his reply to Sir Alfred's despatch recounted at length the uitlander grievances, declared that they had become quite intolerable, and based the right of Great Britain to insist upon their redress on a threefold ground. The Convention of 1884 was designed to secure equality of treatment in the South African Republic for uitlander and Boer. Great Britain was the Paramount Power in South Africa. It was a national duty to protect British subjects residing in a foreign country.

'The British Government,' he wrote, 'still cherish the hope that the publicity given to the present representations of the uitlander population, and the fact, of which the Government of the South African Republic must be aware, that they are losing the sympathy of those other States which, like Great Britain, are deeply interested in the prosperity of the Transvaal, may induce them to reconsider their policy, and by redressing the most serious of the grievances now complained of to remove a standing danger to the peace and prosperity not only of the Republic itself but also of South Africa generally.'

And the Secretary of State went on to propose to President Kruger that Sir Alfred Milner and he should meet and discuss in a conciliatory spirit the best means of removing uitlander grievances and restoring good relations between Great Britain and the South African Republic.

Before, however, Mr. Chamberlain's despatch was shown to President Kruger, or made public, a conference had been held at Bloemfontein on the invitation of the President of the Orange Free State, which was naturally most anxious that a peaceful solution should be found for the difficulties between its two neighbours. The conference failed, but the report of the discussions serves a very useful historical purpose in making clear the views of the two sides and the motives that actuated the negotiators. The action taken at the time by the Orange Free State and the Prime Minister and Government of Cape Colony also deserves the most careful attention. Nothing is to be gained by shutting our eyes to the difficulties of the other side ; and the statement, so often made in this country, that we have been asking for nothing more for uitlanders in the Republic than is given by the Orange Free State, or by the British Colonies to resident foreigners within their boundaries, conceals the essential differences between the cases. Sir Alfred Milner put forward his case at the conference frankly and clearly.

The last thing he wanted, he said, was to impair the independence of the Republic. If the uitlanders were enfranchised it would strengthen that independence and diminish

all necessity for British interference. He did not wish to swamp the old burghers, but merely to give to the new residents a moderate representation, so that they might in constitutional fashion seek redress for their own grievances. President Kruger seemed honestly anxious to get the High Commissioner to understand, even if he did not agree with, the feeling of the Boers on the subject. 'I have come,' he said, 'to the conference in the trust that your Excellency is 'a man capable of conviction, to go into all points of difference.' He claimed independence as to the internal affairs of the State; but if his Excellency in a friendly way would give him hints on internal matters he would listen and do his best to remove all points of difference. As to the franchise question, which was to take precedence of all others, 'I am not surprised,' said the President, 'that in other places the men would only have to wait a year to get it, because there are millions of old burghers, and the few that come in cannot outvote the old burghers; but with us those who rushed in to the gold fields are in large numbers and of all kinds, and the number of burghers is still insignificant; therefore we are compelled to make the franchise so that they cannot all rush into it at once, and as soon as we can assure ourselves by a gradual increase of our burghers that we can safely do it, our plan was to reduce the time for any one there to take up the franchise, and that is my plan.'

The Boer dislike to being swamped is a perfectly intelligible one, especially when one calls to mind the sacrifices which the Boers have made in the past to achieve their hard-won and beloved independence. It is hardly necessary to go into the details of the proposals made on the one side and the other. Sir Alfred suggested an increase of seats in the uitlander districts, and a five-year franchise for all residents who intended to remain permanently in the Republic, provided they would take an oath to obey the laws and defend the independence of the country; and he urged (probably with entire truth) that to grant less than this would satisfy no one and do no good. The Boer President's proposals were very different. They included indeed an increase of seats in the Gold Fields district, and a shortening of the period to qualify for franchise. Sir Alfred admitted that the scheme showed a great advance on the existing system; but as a settlement of the question it was utterly and entirely inadequate. The President showed himself most anxious to agree to some plan for settling future differences between the two States by arbitration; but the High Commissioner refused to mix up the funda-

mental question of the franchise with other matters, and at his instance the conference, having accomplished nothing, was closed.

The result was disappointing; but as yet there were many reasons for hoping that some pacific and satisfactory solution, by way of compromise, would be arrived at. Under these circumstances it was evidently all-important that the British demands should be of a kind, and be put forward in a manner, to attract general support in South Africa. The feeling among the loyal Dutch in Cape Colony, as well as among a large proportion of the people of the Free State, was quite opposed to the narrow, exclusive, retrograde, and corrupt system of government prevailing in the Transvaal. Policy, therefore, as well as the national honour made it incumbent upon us to convince even suspicious men that Great Britain had no intention of harking back to its old project of annexation, or of lending an ear to the counsels of those who had planned the treacherous raid of three years ago. There had slipped into one of the High Commissioner's telegraphic despatches an unfortunate paragraph which in South Africa was construed to convey a reflexion upon the loyalty of our Dutch fellow subjects. It had been for some time the party cue of Mr. Rhodes's followers, with the exaggeration belonging to the bitterness of faction, to attribute disloyalty to their political opponents; yet only recently the Schreiner Ministry, supported by colonists of Dutch blood, had given signal evidence of its pride in the Imperial connexion and its allegiance to the British flag. It was important that as far as possible the struggle with the Boer President should be prevented from widening out into a contest of racial supremacy. The Schreiner Ministry and the President and Government of the Orange Free State felt this keenly, and offered what assistance they could to bring about a resumption of negotiations. Mr. Chamberlain has in the past in many speeches shown his recognition of the importance of keeping as far as possible the loyal Dutch of Cape Colony and the people of the Orange Free State in sympathy with the Imperial policy towards the Transvaal. Important to Great Britain as would be a rupture with the South African Republic, to the Orange Free State it would be a matter of vital interest, and to our Dutch fellow subjects distressing to the last degree. Mr. Schreiner and the Ministry of Cape Colony had carefully considered the proposals of President Kruger, and had come to the conclusion that they afforded at least a basis upon

which the franchise question might be settled; and they communicated, it appears, with some diffidence, their views to Sir Alfred Milner on the subject. The Governor, however, considered the differences between himself and President Kruger irreconcilable, and advised the Cape Ministry to apply rather to the latter than to him—an appeal which was reinforced by a telegram next day from the Secretary of State asking the Cape Ministry to bring what influence they could to bear on the South African Republic to modify their proposals, and so to remove the necessity for British interference in affairs of this kind. At the same time the uitlanders and the burghers at Johannesburg were resolving, the former, that Sir Alfred Milner's proposals were an irreducible minimum; the latter, that the President's suggestions left nothing to be desired. Between these extremists stood the Cape Ministry and the President of the Orange Free State. And at the end of July, when there was some appearance that the wrangle might reach a peaceful conclusion, Lord Selborne, in the House of Lords, was able to express the thanks of the Colonial Office to Mr. Schreiner and Mr. Hofmeyr, and to Mr. Fischer of the Orange Free State, 'for the assistance they had rendered in bringing the "proposals of the South African Republic to the point they had then reached.'

It is clear enough in reading through these despatches that the prospect of our getting our way about the franchise without war lay in our convincing the Boer Government and the burghers that we did not intend to attack their independence. In these circumstances the mischief done by extremists on the uitlander side cannot be passed over. The South African League had established a branch at Johannesburg, and long before this (viz. January 11, 1899) Sir William Butler, Acting Governor at Cape Town, had warned Mr. Chamberlain to be on his guard as to information that might reach him from that quarter. 'I am convinced by "the knowledge of facts which it is impossible to ignore that "it is necessary to receive with caution, and even with a "large measure of suspicion, statements emanating from the "officers of that organisation.'* Sir Alfred Milner, it is true, put much greater faith than his *locum tenens* in the representations of the League. Here, however, we are dealing not with their facts but with their policy, than which nothing could be more deplorable. At the very time when wise and moderate men, English and Dutch, in Cape Colony were striving to remove the not altogether unnatural suspicions which

possessed the Boer mind as to the lurking wish of the British Government to destroy their independence, the Transvaal branch of the League addresses (June 11) the High Commissioner, pointing out that his proposed franchise would do very little good unless the uitlanders at once obtained a preponderating influence in the Raad! Of course Sir Alfred's proposal asked only a moderate share of the representation, and he again and again assured President Kruger that all fears that the uitlanders would be the governing power in the State were groundless. The League goes on to urge that in the meantime the sweeping reforms it enumerates in every part of the constitution of the Republic must be effected 'by pressure from the suzerain Power,' and all this must be done at once, contemporaneously with the grant of the new franchise! The Boer fort at Johannesburg also must be at once demolished.

With these gentlemen of the South African League, therefore, the 'suzerainty' asserted is interpreted to involve what must in Boer eyes look very like the complete subjection of the Boer State. If this is the meaning given to 'suzerainty' by influential uitlanders in the Transvaal no wonder that President Kruger refuses to admit the word, as, indeed, under the Convention of 1884 it would seem he has a right to do. Now the position of all parties may be roughly summed up, and the policies they were urging, as follows:—

1. Sir Alfred Milner claims for the uitlanders a moderate share of the governing power, thereby improving the government and strengthening the internal independence of the South African Republic.

2. President Kruger's wish is to do as little as he can towards enfranchising uitlanders, but he has been compelled to make considerable advances in the direction required.

3. The Ministry of Cape Colony, and the Orange Free State, hope for the sake of peace to get each party to accept a reasonable compromise.

4. The South African League and the uitlander extremists wish under the name of suzerainty to annihilate at once Boer independence.

Now, policy No. 4 is, in truth, almost as much opposed to the policy of Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Chamberlain as policy No. 2; yet it is singular, and to our mind very much to be regretted, that the former was not at once and publicly repudiated by the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State. It may have been considered that excessive uit-

lander demands would frighten the Boers into agreeing quickly with their more reasonable adversaries. These unrepudiated claims had unfortunately the opposite effect, and rendered the Boers more distrustful than ever of British good faith in adhering to the London Convention of 1884, and they must also have greatly weakened the influence of the loyal Dutch with the governments of the Transvaal and the Free State.

In the course of the summer there was great reason to hope that, in spite of the dogged obstinacy of the Boers on the one side and of the extravagant claims of the South African League and its supporters on the other, it would be possible for the two Governments to come to a satisfactory conclusion. Sir Alfred Milner at the conference had been prepared 'to drop all questions connected with the position of British subjects, if only President Kruger could be persuaded to adopt a liberal measure of enfranchisement,' and he felt that he was carrying with him a considerable body of Dutch support. In truth, strong pressure was being brought to bear upon the President by those whom he could not suspect of any desire to overthrow his Republic. Mr. Schreiner was accused both in Cape Colony and England—such is the bitterness and the recklessness of faction—of urging the Transvaal Government to resist the proposals of the High Commissioner, who, of course, as soon as the matter came to his knowledge declared the utter falseness of the story. That the party which supports Mr. Schreiner—perhaps it should be said the party that opposes Mr. Rhodes—is necessarily infected with treason is an amiable commonplace of Cape party politics, and one which, unfortunately, some of Mr. Rhodes's friends have done their best to popularise in England.

On July 20 Mr. Chamberlain was able to inform the House of Commons that President Kruger had greatly modified his proposals, and that the Government now hoped that the new law which the Raad had just passed would prove the basis of settlement on the lines laid down by Sir Alfred Milner at the conference. There were indeed difficult details to be arranged, but the Government trusted that the President would be willing to deal with them in such a spirit as not to hamper the substantial privileges he seemed willing to grant. And a week later this hopeful tone still prevailed, the Secretary of State in his despatch (July 27) to the High Commissioner noting the considerable advances made by the President to meet the

British demands, and pointing out that the Volksraad 'had now agreed to a measure intended to give the franchise immediately to those who have been resident in the country for seven years, as well as to those who may in future complete this period of residence. This proposal is an advance on previous concessions, and leaves only a difference of two years between yourself and President Kruger so far as the franchise is concerned.' Still, however, there were many details that required revising, and a fair proportion of seats must be allotted to uitlander districts. Moreover the privileges granted ought not to be at the mercy of the Boer Government to reduce or abrogate at its own discretion. The best way in which these details could be considered would be by the appointment by the High Commissioner and the President of delegates to discuss them and report to their respective Governments. Even on the subject of arbitration there appeared from this despatch to be a great approximation between the two sides; though the Secretary of State would not allow that any question could arise 'in the interpretation of the preamble of the Convention of 1881 which governed the articles substituted in the Convention of 1884.'

Thus before Parliament was prorogued there was good reason for hoping that a peaceful solution would be found; and so there would have been if both parties in South Africa had really meant to carry forward and to be satisfied with Sir Alfred Milner's proposals as a basis for a substantial reform. In the despatch already quoted, Mr. Chamberlain rejoiced that 'each new scheme [of President Kruger] seemed to be an advance and improvement on that which preceded it, and hoped that the plan just passed by the Volksraad might prove a basis for a settlement on the lines laid down at the Conference.' It really looked as if the firmness of the Government and the High Commissioner were to be rewarded by the yielding of the President (unwillingly enough no doubt) to the steady pressure which had been applied. When, however, the High Commissioner came to examine the details and probable operation of the new law, he considered it was so hedged in with difficulties and uncertainties that he could not possibly advise its acceptance. Even in our own highly civilised country, Registration Acts and Franchise Acts are complex enough, and many an unwary citizen at every election finds himself improperly omitted from the electoral roll. Still, a little goodwill on both sides would

have elucidated the meaning of the new law, and have led to its amendment. The Boers, however, objected to the appointment of a joint commission to inquire into these matters, as they thought such a proceeding would jeopardise their legislative independence, and the uitlanders showed no sort of desire to find, as Mr. Chamberlain had done, the basis of a working system in the project passed by the Raad. President Kruger has always maintained that the uitlanders did not really wish to become enfranchised citizens of the Republic, and that it was a mere pretext to cover their wish to get rid of Boer independence. At all events, where the Home Government, and moderate men, Dutch and English, in the Cape, really thought some working system could be found to carry out the substance of the High Commissioner's plan, the uitlanders energetically repudiated any attempt at a compromise. In Sir Alfred Milner's despatch to Mr. Chamberlain (received August 5), there occurs the following noteworthy remark :

'Great uncertainty still exists in view of the complicated provisions of the franchise law, as to how many uitlanders could fulfil the conditions for obtaining the franchise, and, still greater, as to how many will now attempt to obtain it. The one point which is constantly left out of sight in discussing the number of uitlanders who may become burghers under this or that scheme is the effect which the scheme, as a whole, is likely to produce upon their disposition to take up the rights and duties of burghership. Will they consider it worth while? Will they, especially those of them who possess a citizenship that they are proud of, be willing to change their allegiance? That depends in many cases upon the amount of faith they have in the fairness and practicability of the system of admission to burgher rights. That the uitlanders, especially the British uitlanders, will be particularly attracted by the offer now made to them—in its present form—is, I think, extremely improbable.'

At all events, whatever the reason, as August passed on, the parties, instead of approaching each other, drew farther and farther apart. Perhaps as a mere matter of diplomacy (if the importance of an immediate settlement of the franchise difficulty is considered) it might have been better for the Secretary of State to have abstained in his despatch from any reference to the doubtful claim of the 'suzerainty' under the Convention of 1881, and to the 'paramountcy' of Great Britain over the South African Republic, both of which claims not unnaturally always suggest to the Boers that they hold a position of *vassalage* to the British Empire, far beyond the restrictions imposed by the Convention of

1884, which restrictions have never seriously been disputed by President Kruger. On the subject of arbitration the Secretary of State was willing to make a great advance in the direction desired by the President, and was ready to consider the best system of establishing an arbitration Court to decide on the right interpretation of details of the articles of the Convention of 1884, and the President was shortly afterwards invited to appoint Boer delegates to meet British delegates, to inquire whether the measure passed by the Volksraad would efficiently carry out the object in view. The uitlanders in the Transvaal were not prepared to listen to any kind of compromise, and, indeed, were much afraid lest the British Government should accept one. Accordingly they did their best to persuade the High Commissioner not to yield an inch, and passed resolutions strongly urging the immediate recurrence to his Conference plan, which they had accepted with much reluctance, but which was the very least they would accept at all. They further proceeded to assert their claim to the demolition of the Boer forts, for the repeal of religious disabilities, for representation in the First Raad proportionate to their numbers, for equality of language, and other reforms 'as essential to the exercise of the rights of a free people.'

Once again we must call attention to the difference between the Imperial policy and the policy of the extremer uitlanders. Which was to prevail? The Secretary of State was willing to accept the Boer franchise proposals and the large increase offered in the representation of the uitlander districts, on condition of a preliminary inquiry by a joint commission proving satisfactory into the practical effect of proposals undeniably very complicated and difficult to understand. At the same time the uitlanders were declaring that nothing less would content them than the privileges and constitutional system which in recent years Englishmen have enjoyed at home. Unless they could get these they were willing apparently to accept the alternative of war, or an indefinite continuance in the condition of helots.

President Kruger, objecting to the joint commission, at the end of August proposed a counter-project dealing with the franchise and representation, going very much farther than any proposal he had hitherto made, and apparently even more liberal towards the uitlanders than Sir Alfred Milner's own proposals at the conference. The President's new project embraced a five years' retrospective franchise,

ten seats for the uitlander districts in a First Raad of thirty-six, and equality between new and old burghers in voting for the election of the President of the Republic and Commandant-General. The Government of the Republic declared that in offering these terms it was going far beyond what could reasonably be asked, but it did so 'out of its strong desire to get the controversies between the two Governments settled, and further to put an end to present strained relations between the two Governments and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war, from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never.'

Surely after this it seems hardly possible that the two Governments should not have come to terms. The Boer proposals were, however, made subject to conditions, viz. that for the future her Majesty's Government would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic, would not insist further on its assertion of the suzerainty, and would agree to arbitration from which all foreign elements, except that of the Orange Free State, should be excluded. Mr. Chamberlain was ready to accept the Boer plan if, after examination by a British agent and a Transvaal agent, it appeared really to carry out the object proposed; and as to the conditions, he *hoped* that further interference in the affairs of the Republic would be unnecessary. But he would not waive the rights of Great Britain under the two Conventions, nor divest his country of the ordinary obligations of a civilised Power to protect its subjects in a foreign land. He would agree as to arbitration, and as to the suzerainty he referred the South African Republic to his previous despatch.

'Her Majesty's Government,' the despatch concluded, 'also desire to remind the Government of the South African Republic that there are other matters of difference between the two Governments which will not be settled by the grant of political representation to the uitlanders, and which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration. It is necessary that these should be settled concurrently with the questions now under discussion, and they will form, with the question of arbitration, proper subjects for consideration at the conference,' which Mr. Chamberlain proposed should be held by the High Commissioner and the President at Capetown.

So far, then, it would appear that her Majesty's Government were carrying all before them, that the uitlanders would obtain the very franchise suggested by Sir Alfred Milner, that they would have a larger representation than

had been contemplated in the Raad, and that they would have the power of voting for (before many years had passed the predominant power in electing) the State President himself. Perhaps, in view of these immense and immediate gains, it might have been more diplomatic not to refer to the 'etymological question' of the suzerainty, or to propose to bring the President to Cape Town to talk over with the High Commissioner all other outstanding questions. We do not know how this may be; but the South African Republic did not at once send a reply, and the High Commissioner, representing uitlander feeling, urgently pressed the Home Government to come to an immediate decision. 'British South Africa,' he telegraphed on August 31, 'is prepared for extreme measures, and is prepared to suffer much in order to see the vindication of British authority.' Now, British South Africa includes a very large number of loyal Dutch British subjects (and, be it said, no small number of Englishmen who distrust the counsels urged by the uitlanders of the Transvaal), and it cannot be supposed that in their earnest desire to avert war they, or even the Cape Ministry, were at all anxious to abandon the spirit of compromise and to hurry the Home Government into a decision which might bring it about. British influence would, in their view, be sufficiently established by our winning from President Kruger the terms, and more than the terms, so long demanded by the High Commissioner, and so long refused by the Boer Government. We certainly believe that Sir Alfred Milner described accurately the feeling of one of the political parties in Cape Colony when he spoke of a desire for 'extreme measures'; but he certainly did not therein speak the sentiments of the Colony as a whole or those of his own constitutional advisers.

The High Commissioner was entirely justified in looking with the utmost suspicion at the reforms suggested by the President, and in advising his Government as to the necessity of rigidly testing their probable operation. He was also right to guard against it being alleged that her Majesty's Government, having obtained what they asked for the uitlanders, were debarred from entering upon any other questions between the two governments. The Boers, however, in their note of September 2, very foolishly withdrew their offer of August 21, as they considered that its terms and conditions were not frankly accepted by her Majesty's Government. They did not, they said, ask that Government to give up any of its rights either under inter-

national law or by virtue of any treaty, but they denied the existence of the suzerainty since the Convention of 1884, and referred to their own former despatch. They further referred to the franchise reform already passed, and apparently were ready to consider the question of the appointment of delegates to examine its efficacy, a point upon which the Secretary of State had formerly insisted.

Mr. Chamberlain's reply to this despatch was firm in substance and moderate in tone. On September 9 he, in the first instance, most properly repudiated the claim of the Republic to 'the status of a Sovereign International State,' and could not enter into any agreement involving the admission of such a 'status.' He declined further to go back from the proposals of August to the earlier proposals, which he now considered quite insufficient; but he was ready to accept the August proposals of the Boer Government as to franchise and seats, and he made no mention whatever of the 'suzerainty.' 'The acceptance of these terms,' the despatch proceeded, 'would at once remove the tension between the two governments, and would in all probability render unnecessary any further intervention on the part of her Majesty's Government to secure the redress of grievances which the uitlanders would themselves be able to bring to the notice of the Executive Government and Raad.' It concluded by urging, in the interests of South Africa, the relief of the present strain, and pointed to a future conference between the High Commissioner and the President on outstanding questions not concerned with uitlander grievances.

The remainder of the correspondence can be easily summarised. The reply of the South African Republic (dated September 16) adhered to its previous despatch, and agreed to the joint commission to inquire into the law which had been passed, but entirely refused again to take up the August proposals unless the conditions stipulated were accepted; to which, on the 22nd, the Secretary of State answers repeating that no rights are claimed over the internal affairs of the Republic except those derived from the Conventions or based on international law; that it is evident that nothing can be gained by further pursuing the discussion, and that 'her Majesty's Government are now compelled to consider the question afresh, and to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement of the issues which have been created in South Africa by the policy constantly followed for many years by the Republic. They will communicate to you the result of their deliberations in a later despatch.'

We have given, we hope, a fair account of the substantial matters discussed in a lengthy series of despatches, so far as they deal with the policy pursued on the two sides. Of various incidents differently represented here and in the Transvaal, which have been the cause of much bitter ill feeling between English and Dutch, we have said nothing. It is right that cases of injustice, or unfairness, or tyranny should be inquired into ; but it is not right by gross exaggeration and partisan statements to use them to inflame still further a race animosity already lamentably violent.

Since August last national feeling has run high, and excitement has been fanned by much wild writing and speaking. It is not a question, we are told, of justice or of good faith, but of who is to rule in South Africa. And throughout September constant pressure has been put on the Government to break off negotiations and 'send an 'ultimatum' to President Kruger, backed by an army of invasion. When responsible men urged patience and peace at public meetings, attempts were made to drown their voices with shouts of 'Majuba Hill.' Nevertheless, Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet have resolutely refused to listen to these violent counsels, and at the date we are writing they have not closed the door on their temperate proposals of September 8 ; nor have they, as might have been expected from the despatch of September 22, made any further demands. Surely the intelligent reader of this long diplomatic correspondence must feel lost in astonishment when he remembers what war means to the Transvaal, to South Africa, and to the British Empire, that war should arise out of a discussion in which the two Governments show themselves so very nearly agreed !

But is British power in South Africa really trembling ? If so, all Englishmen are ready to make any sacrifice to maintain it, and here it is useful to clear our heads for a time of all the complications introduced by treaties and conventions, by claims of paramountcy and suzerainty on the one side, and of independence or of sovereignty on the other, and to look at the great facts of the position. The British Empire is strongly established in South Africa, and the links which unite the colonies with the Mother Country can never be broken so long as the colonists of English race wish the connexion to endure. It is men of English, American, and German blood who constitute the progressive part of the community, and have the future in their hands. British power protects their coasts and their ports, and keeps the

colonies in constant touch with England. It is as easy, though it is more costly and takes longer, to send an army of 50,000 men to Cape Colony or Natal as to Salisbury Plain or the Curragh. Surrounding the Dutch States on every side, excepting only where Portuguese territory forms one boundary of the South African Republic, the British colonies cut them off completely from the rest of the world. They nowhere touch the sea, and without British permission not a company of soldiers, not a man—we may almost say not a letter nor a telegram—could be sent into the Dutch States by the most powerful nation in Europe. To the north of the Transvaal, unless Rhodesia should prove a delusion, a large British population will soon be found. To the east of the Free State, Natal, the most English of South African colonies, is filling up. Can it be supposed that such colonies as the Cape, Natal, and Rhodesia will not year by year steadily increase their importance, at present surely sufficiently marked, over the stagnant little Dutch communities which they have surrounded? But this is not all, for in the South African Republic itself, *because* money is to be made there, and *because* there is a future, Englishmen flock in in such overwhelming numbers as to prove that that future will be largely and surely theirs. Already the foreign element, mostly English, number two-thirds of the population, though it is hardly more than a dozen years since the influx began. Facts will decide far more surely than the best penned despatches what ultimately will be the complexion of South African civilisation and government—whether English or Dutch. The notion that there is a formidable Dutch conspiracy ‘to oust British influence’ (that, we think, is the phrase) ‘from South Africa’ is the strangest nightmare that ever afflicted the most nervous of ‘Imperialist’ minds. Our statesmen here and in South Africa have ample work to do in smoothing the pathway to the ultimate unification of the South African colonies, in assisting co-operation between the races, and their ultimate fusion. But which race will prevail in the end will be settled by racial characteristics, and the natural conditions presented by the soil, the climate, and the advantages to be gained, in the colonies themselves.

Much has been said about the duplicity of the Boers and of their leader; and Sir Alfred Milner has been wisely on his guard lest privileges to be granted with one hand should be withdrawn with the other. To dispel the suspicions of such a man as Kruger would task—perhaps overtask—the

skill of our most experienced diplomatists. In the first place he would have had to convince the President 'that the policy of the British High Commissioner was not in reality moved by a party in South Africa, which, in truth, hardly takes the trouble to conceal its hostility to the independence of the Republic. The President is himself a rough, uncultivated man, with a very strong will. Mr. Lecky, speaking both from personal acquaintance with him and from knowledge acquired from others, described him some three years ago, in an address delivered at Dublin, as bearing a striking resemblance 'to the stern puritan warrior of the Commonwealth—a strong, stubborn man, with 'indomitable courage and resolution, with very little tinge 'of cultivation, but with a rare natural shrewdness in 'judging men and events, impressing all who came in contact with him with the extraordinary force of his nature.' He is a member of the 'Dopper' sect, who are opposed to everything in the nature of innovation, 'and is ardently 'religious, believing, it is said, as strongly as Wesley in 'a direct personal inspiration guiding him in his acts.'

In England far too little attention has been given to the attitude of the Cape Dutch and of the Orange Free State. Mr. Schreiner (than whom her Majesty has no more loyal subject) and his ministers are the constitutional advisers of Sir Alfred Milner in matters concerning the interests of Cape Colony. The Orange Free State have everything to lose by entering into a quarrel with the Imperial Government; and we think the language of the Cape Dutch and of the Government of the Orange Free State very honestly reflects the difficulty of the position in which they find themselves. Nothing but a conviction that the independence of the Dutch States is the real question at stake could have forced the Free State to incur the certain disasters which their alliance with the Transvaal must bring upon them. It is not from this side that shouts of 'No compromise' come. Neither do they in the least degree wish to perpetuate in the Transvaal the exclusive system from which their own States are free. The address of June 30 of the representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church to the High Commissioner gives exact expression to the feelings of many thousands of our fellow-countrymen. They are filled, they say, with alarm at the tension between the Dutch and English races in Cape Colony and in the Transvaal, which has been greatly increased by the 'warlike attitude assumed ' by an influential portion of the local and the British Press.'

It was not their business to touch on politics, but as holding responsible positions in the Reformed Church in South Africa, as

'preachers of the gospel of peace, as representing a Church, one in creed, language, membership, blood relationship with the burghers of the Transvaal, as loyal subjects of our beloved Queen, we desire to urge your Excellency to leave nothing undone which may tend to avert active hostilities. We shudder to think of the consequences which are sure to follow such an eventuality. The race feeling between the Dutch and English would be intensified, the breach between the two sections of our South African community would become irreparable, the allegiance of her Majesty's loyal Dutch subjects would sustain the severest shock it has ever been subjected to, and the hope of a united South Africa would be gone for ever. To us standing outside the political arena the difference between the proposals of your Excellency and those of President Kruger would hardly appear to justify the horrors in which active warfare between her Majesty's troops and the burghers of the Republic would involve the whole of South Africa for many a day.'

Surely there is a ring of pathetic earnestness about this address which entitles it to the attention of Englishmen at home.

Whatever view may be taken of South African questions surely no English statesman can regard without the deepest dislike a racial war between the Dutch and English inhabitants of those regions! In the eyes of the greatly preponderating black population what must be the appearance of such a war? To them it must seem that their conquerors and masters have fallen out amongst themselves at last, over the plunder. To the two Dutch States the war involves the loss of their dearly prized independence. When war has once begun it certainly will not end till British arms have destroyed their power of resistance for the future. British victory, therefore, which is not in doubt, involves British rule. But the mere fact that this is so makes it appear to every citizen of the Republic of the Free State that he is fighting for national independence against an English conqueror. When Englishmen read of old men of seventy and of boys of fourteen flocking into the ranks to fight what undoubtedly seems to them the battle of freedom against a foreign conqueror, they cannot but feel an uncomfortable searching of conscience as to whether these things must really be, and whether this war cannot with wisdom and honour be even yet avoided. When the war is over what is to be our next step? All of us had hoped to see the various States of South Africa freely working out their own constitution, and forming in time a

great federation under, and proud of, the British flag. It is bad to build a free constitution on the ruins left by racial war.

It may be that things have now gone too far, and that with opposing armies actually in the field, it is impossible to avoid the arbitrament of war. Undeniably the position is an extremely difficult one. Up till now the Government has entirely declined to be driven by wild shouts of popular excitement into the precipitation of a disastrous struggle. If war comes, as come it may, in spite of every effort which statesmen sincerely attached to peace can make to prevent it, then the British nation will of course do its part, and carry to a successful and, we hope, a rapid issue, a war upon which thinking men cannot but enter with heavy hearts.

Since the above was written a despatch has been received from the Government of the South African Republic demanding, under threat of an immediate declaration of war, the withdrawal of British troops from the neighbourhood of their frontier, and the recall to England of all troops under orders to land in any part of South Africa. No doubt can now remain of the course to be pursued, and the nation must accept the challenge so recklessly thrown down.

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